101 first-hand knowledge of them. On the coast they are classed with
197 Nyakyusa and Ngonde as *Sokile*, a nickname derived from the traditional Nyakyusa greeting.

128 This book is concerned with the Nyakyusa.[1] What it contains is true in general terms for the people of Ngonde, but how far it is applicable to the smaller groups cited we are not certain. The Ndali, Sukwa, and Penja, are said to have long had an age-village organization; and Henga, Nyika and Kisi living intermingled with Ngonde and Nyakyusa have adopted it; but of the customs of the Wenya and Lambya we know little. Dr. Kerr Cross and Monteith Fotheringham, who travelled extensively in the area before 1890, reported that the Ndali and Sukwa (of Misuku) were very similar to the Nyakyusa and Ngonde people, but that the Lambya were different, practising shifting *citemene* cultivation, and living in stockaded villages.[2]

173 According to their own traditions the Nyakyusa and Ngonde chiefs (who trace descent from common ancestors) came ten generations ago from Kinga country, on the Livingstone mountains, and found the Rungwe and North Nyasa country already occupied. They established themselves as chiefs and have since been increasing the area of their occupation. The Kinga also affirm that their chiefs are related to those of the Nyakyusa and Ngonde, and they join with the Nyakyusa in sacrifice to common ancestors at Lubaga and LiKyala (see Map III), but the Kinga culture is quite distinct from that of the Nyakyusa and Ngonde; we stayed long enough in Kinga country to convince ourselves that the Kinga live in kinship villages and not in age-villages, and that they differ from the Nyakyusa in many other respects.

177 There seems little doubt that the Nyakyusa and Ngonde people have been expanding in an area not uninhabited, but sparsely
167 inhabited, and that the assimilation of the Penja and other groups now proceeding is no new phenomenon, but part of a process which has long been going on. Within recent years over 2,000

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[161] [1] The Nyakyusa as here defined numbered 159,044 in Rungwe district at the 1931 census, and 3,732 outside the district; the Ndali 22,834, the Lambya (within Rungwe district, and not including those in Nyasaland) 12,403, and the Kisi (in Njombe district) 2,115. *Tanganyika Territory, Census of the Native Population*, 1931.

[2] D. Kerr-Cross, 'Geographical Notes on the Country between Lakes Nyassa, Rukwa, and Tanganyika, *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. VI (1890), p. 286; L. M. Fotheringham, *Adventures in Nyassaland* (1891), pp. 129-33. Nyondo was a Lambya chief, cf. Godfrey Wilson, op. cit., p. 10.

167 •177 Nyakyusa families have crossed the Poroto mountains and settled in Safwa and Nyika country. They have moved, primarily, to secure good pasture, fertile garden land, and accessible markets; and the accounts of Nyakyusa history which we have suggest that the first two of these motives have long been in operation. There is no sign of these Nyakyusa immigrants being absorbed by the previous occupants of the country. Indeed, were it not for the intervention of the Administration, it seems that the Nyakyusa immigrants might soon dominate the less organized Safwa and Nyika. As it is, certain of the Safwa and Nyika Native Authority Courts are conducting proceedings in Nyakyusa as well as in their own languages,[1] a fact which supports the Nyakyusa boast that all their neighbours are learning their language. Many Kinga, Mahasi, Wanji, and Poroto are said to learn to speak Nyakyusa, though there are few Nyakyusa settlers among them, since they find the language useful in external contacts.[2] The Kinga tell a myth of how they, together with the Nyakyusa proper, the Kukwe, the Ndali, the Ngonde, the Mahasi, the Kisi, the Pangwa, and the Bena came from a place Ilongo (in the present Bena country) which they call 'the dark house' (*nyumba nditu*), and the Penja speak of a centre of dispersion, Kina, to the north of Rungwe mountain, from which they and the Safwa and Poroto came. The people of Ngonde, for their part, trace connections with the Inamwanga and Iwa, saying that their chiefs in their journeyings left sons to rule these people; they also assert that one of their predecessors on the Lake-shore plain was a hunter from Fipa country.[3]

101 Despite these tenuous links with their eastern, northern, and north-western neighbours, the Nyakyusa and Ngonde people are, as we have said, culturally quite distinct from them. The Nyakyusa themselves are emphatic that their culture differs from the cultures of the Kinga, the Safwa, the Poroto, and the Nyika—a statement which our own observation, and the evidence of other writers, confirm.[4] And the Ngonde differ in many respects both

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[1] R. de Z. Hall, 'Local Migration in Tanganyika', *African Studies*, 4 (1945). 2,100 families had moved before 1938; 3,000 by 1941.

[198] [2] This is despite the fact that Swahili is the official vernacular for Tanganyika, being the medium of instruction in Government primary schools, and the language used by the Administration.

[3] Godfrey Wilson, op. cit., p. 10.

[4] E. Kootz-Kretschmer, *Die Safwa* (1926); J. Thomson, *To the Central African Lakes and Back* (1881), Vol. I, pp. 46–52; R. de Z. Hall, op. cit.; D. Kerr-Cross, op. cit.

231 try, and Lugard speaks of 'enormous herds' in 1888[1] which a rinderpest epidemic decimated in 1892.[2] A few Kukwe keep one or two sheep, but we saw no goats at all in Rungwe district,[3] and neither sheep nor goats figure in ritual: cattle and fowls provide flesh for sacrifice. Every woman keeps fowls, as every man seeks to own cattle.

262 With curds and meat from their cattle, with fowls, fish, bananas, grain, pulses, roots and curcurbits, as well as bean tops and pumpkin tops, and—less generally—fruit, the Nyakyusa are exceptionally well fed. Since the dry season is so short and two crops of maize and pulses are grown in the year, there are no 'hunger months' such as the Bemba and many other African [731] peoples experience. Shortages and famine occur, but rarely. All the early travellers comment on the quantities of food available in Nyakyusa country.[4]

c. Relations with the outside world

131 171 Perhaps the most significant fact in the history of the Nyakyusa is their long isolation, which is mainly the result of their geographical position. Surrounded on three sides by high mountains, and on the fourth by the stormy head waters of the Lake,[5] the district was largely cut off from the outside world. Slave caravans passed to the north, the west, and the south, but never through Nyakyusa country; and though they were repeatedly attacked by the Sangu, who are said to have raided as far as the Nyasa plain,[6] and several times by the Ngoni, the Nyakyusa repulsed both peoples. Certain of the Kukwe chiefs were forced for a period to pay tribute to the Sangu chief, Merere; but according to their own account none did so for long, and some never paid at all. Kerr-Cross comments on the contrast before 1890 between the unfortified villages of the Nyakyusa and Ndali, and those of the Lambya and Nyika, who, living in open country and harried

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[1] Lugard, op. cit., p. 131.

[2] H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa* (1897), p. 430; D. Kerr-Cross, op. cit., p. 119.

[3] Fotheringham, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 25, mentions goats in Ngonde.

[4] See especially, Thomson, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 268, 274; Lugard, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 131.

[5] In 1946 a Lake steamer, the *Vipya*, sank in a storm near Karonga with heavy loss of life.

[6] Kerr Cross, op. cit., pp. 119–29.

by the Arabs and Bemba, built their huts within a stockade.[1] 131
According to Thomson, the Nyakyusa were unaware even of the
existence of Lake Tanganyika in 1879 and their more distant 177 ●
eastern neighbours, the Pangwa, Bena, and Hehe had no communication with them.[2]

Unlike the Nyakyusa, the people of Ngonde were trading with 439
the coast long before the arrival of the Europeans, a fact which 177
had a profound effect on their political institutions;[3] but even
they did not suffer from the attacks of slavers until *after* Euro- 721
peans were established in Karonga.

From the point of view of the Nyakyusa-Ngonde people the 721
Europeans came just in time. It was the establishment of British control in Nyasaland which prevented the complete destruction of the people of Ngonde by the slavers, and it is likely that the Nyakyusa also were saved by European intervention, for the raids of Arab slavers and their Sangu allies were becoming serious in Kukwe country in 1889[4] before the German annexation.

The first Europeans known to have sighted Nyakyusa country 177
were a party from the Livingstonia mission (then established at the south of Lake Nyasa) who circumnavigated the Lake in the mission steamer, the *Ilala*, in 1875. They anchored off the north shore but did not land.[5] Two years later, the same steamer sailed by two famous missionaries, Dr. Stewart (of Lovedale) and Dr. Laws (of Livingstonia), landed Frederick Elton, H.B.M. Consul at Mozambique, and a party near the Mbaka mouth.[6] Elton and his party travelled through Selya and Kukwe country to the fort of the Sangu chief, Merere, and thence started for the coast. Elton died on the road, but some of the others got through.[7] In 1879 Joseph Thomson (aged 20), alone with his carriers, travelled through Hehe and Bena country, crossed the Livingstone moun-

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[1] D. Kerr-Cross, 'Geographical Notes on the Country between Lakes Nyassa, Rukwa, and Tanganyika', *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. VI (1890), pp. 286-7; Fotheringham, op. cit., pp. 13-5; 269.

[2] Thomson, op. cit., pp. 248, 276.

[3] Godfrey Wilson, op. cit., *passim*.

[4] Fotheringham, op. cit., pp. 238-41, 288. The Sangu had previously been occupied in a prolonged war with the Hehe. cf. Elton, op. cit., p. 374; Thomson, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 229-34.

[5] E. D. Young, 'On a recent Sojourn at Lake Nyassa', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. XXI (1877), pp. 230-1.

[6] J. Stewart, 'The Second Circumnavigation of Lake Nyassa', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1879, pp. 289-304.

[7] Elton, op. cit., pp. 318-44; Cotterill, op. cit.

177 tains to the north-east corner of Nyasa, and went on through Nyakyusa country to Lake Tanganyika.[1]

609 Despite the isolation of the Nyakyusa and their own fear of travelling in foreign chiefdoms, they were not inhospitable to these white strangers: Elton and all his party (some of whom were delayed by illness and travelled separately), and later Thomson, walked up the Nyakyusa valley in safety though it was 'teaming with armed warriors', who carried 'most cruel-looking spears'. Elton remarks that 'the people of Konde, though not unfriendly, are passively obstructive, and being in want of nothing are disinclined to render any services whatsoever to strangers'.[2] But Thomson appears to have been on the best of terms with the Nyakyusa he met. The Kukwe fled from their villages at Thomson's approach, but were usually persuaded to return.[3]

177 721 After these journeys of discovery, mission work and trade developed quickly. The African Lakes Corporation, a company formed to develop legitimate trade in Central Africa as a means of combating the slave trade, established a station at Karonga; and a road was surveyed from Karonga through to Lake Tanganyika.[4] Out-stations of the Livingstonia mission were set up at Chirenji (Mwini Wanda) in the hills north-west of Karonga, and at Kararamuka near Tukuyu.[5] Meantime, an Arab slaver, Mlozi, had settled in Ngonde, and a protracted struggle ensued between him and his Henga allies on the one side, and the people of Ngonde and the Europeans on the other, during which many Ngonde were enslaved or killed and their villages destroyed. Five thousand Nyakyusa spearmen came to the aid of the Europeans but, being more concerned with loot than with the defeat of the Arabs, they returned home with the goods they had taken instead of pursuing Mlozi and his men when they had the chance to do so.[6] Lord (then Captain) Lugard was for some months in command of the exiguous European force and its allies, and nearly

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[1] Thomson, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 260–86.

[2] Elton, op. cit., p. 332.

[3] Thomson, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 281–2.

[4] Fotheringham, op. cit.; F. L. M. Moir, *After Livingstone* (1923).

[5] D. Kerr-Cross, 'Geographical Notes on the Country between Lakes Nyassa, Rukwa, and Tanganyika', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. VI, 1890, pp. 281–93.

[6] Fotheringham, op. cit., pp. 117–23.

died of wounds and fever. Because the Europeans lacked arms 177
the war dragged on,[1] and the power of the slavers was finally 721
broken only in 1895, when Sir Harry Johnston came up the Lake
with a well-armed force.[2]

German missionaries of the Berlin and Moravian missions 797
arrived in 1891, and established themselves at a number of
stations in Nyakyusa country.[3] The Songwe had by that time 177
been agreed upon as the boundary between Nyasaland and German East Africa, and the German administration followed hard on the heels of the missionaries.[4] Twenty years later war broke out between England and Germany; there was fighting throughout Rungwe district, and many Nyakyusa were impressed as carriers. The absorption of the Nyakyusa into a world society was considerably accelerated by war.

d. The form of Nyakyusa society

Not only was the Nyakyusa valley long isolated from the out- 631
side world, but it was divided into a number of small, independent chiefdoms, whose members had few dealings with people beyond their own chiefdoms and those immediately adjoining. Each family produced for its own needs, so that trade was the merest trickle; and marriage outside the boundaries of the chiefdom was discouraged, since beyond the jurisdiction of one's own chief there was no security for life and property. A plea against a man of a neighbouring chiefdom might not be heard by the defendant's chief. Nyakyusa men enlarged to us on the dangers and difficulties of travelling even twenty miles from home, before the coming of the Europeans; a journey from Selya to Tukuyu (twenty-five miles) was said to take three days, because travellers had to seek cover so often.

The number and size of chiefdoms varied; for a continuous process of splitting, together with periodical conquest and reabsorption, was going on and, as we have seen, the area of Nyakyusa occupation was expanding. In 1938 the Nyakyusa themselves

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[1] Lugard, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 51–167.

[2] H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa* (1897), p. 143.

[3] A. Merensky, *Deutsche Arbeit am Njassa* (1894); J. T. Hamilton, *Twenty Years of Pioneer Missions in Nyasaland* (1912).

[4] F. Fülleborn, *Deutsch Ost-Afrika*, Band IX (1906).

562 ship among the women themselves is, moreover, less developed than in many other African societies.

178 The isolation and self-sufficiency of the Nyakyusa are diminishing rapidly, for considerable economic and political development 439 followed the 1914–18 war. Coffee (first introduced by the German missionaries) has been developed as a native crop for 464 export, and the cultivation of rice (which had been fostered by the British to provide food for their troops) has expanded. Gold-digging began some fifty miles beyond the borders of the Nyakyusa country, on the Lupa river, and there Nyakyusa men have found both employment as labourers and a ready market for much of their produce, so that by 1936 Rungwe district was exporting goods worth £24,000 annually.[1] In addition to this peasant production there are a small number of European estates [167] producing coffee and tea for export.[2] We estimate the number of Nyakyusa working outside the district as migrant labourers at about 8,000 or 25 per cent of the able-bodied men. There were about 7,000 Nyakyusa men on the Lupa gold-fields in 1937,[3] and a small number on the coffee plantations of Mbozi. These are all within a hundred miles of home; and the Lupa labourers return usually after two or three months' work. A considerable number of Nyakyusa are also at work on the sisal plantations of the coast, and employed as domestic servants or in other semi-skilled jobs through Tanganyika, who remain away for periods up to two or three years. Nyakyusa labourers are regarded by European employers as intelligent and capable of heavy work, but lacking in all the subservient virtues.

642 The system of Indirect Rule was established in 1926, and a consistent attempt has been made to develop a centralized Native 177 Authority for the Rungwe district. The traditionally sovereign chiefs of the Nyakyusa have been grouped in eleven court districts with one chief as president of the Native Court in each (see Map III); these eleven chiefs, together with the two presidents of the Ndali and Lambya courts, belong to a single federation, with an appeal court and joint Native treasury of its own. In the eleven Native Courts (which are courts of record) most of the

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[1] Figure estimated on the basis of information supplied by the courtesy of the Agricultural Officer, Tukuyu.

[2] In 1938 the total area alienated was 26,0$\frac{L}{4}$ ac.; only 2,200 ac. of this was being worked.

[3] Estimate of the Labour Officer on th$\frac{2}{4}$upa, 4 June 1937.

$\frac{2}{4}$[Missing on the original - Analyst]

642 traditionally sovereign chiefs are entitled to sit with their village
headmen, and assist the president and his village headmen in the
177 hearing of cases. Much of the legal business previously transacted by each chief in his own country is now taken to court (*KwiKoroti*); but the power of village headmen to settle disputes by arbitration in their separate villages is still the basis of the legal system.

177 Though the Administration has worked through the traditional
authorities it has consciously and deliberately modified the tradi-
871 tional system; and, as part of its policy of development, it has
654 established schools, dispensaries, and nurseries for coffee-seed-
797 lings and other plants. There are three schools in Rungwe district receiving Government grants: one directly under the Administration, one under the Native Authority, and one a mission school. There are also a great number of 'bush schools', that is, mission village schools under uncertificated teachers giving instruction in the three R's and in religion. Over 19,000 children (12·6 per cent of the population served) are enrolled in the various schools; but 96 per cent of these are in 'bush schools', many of whom never learn even to read and write.

797 The structure of Nyakyusa society has been further complicated by the conversion of a substantial minority (16 per cent in 1938)[1] of the people to Christianity. The Christians form a group with values radically different from those of the pagans, on whom they react in innumerable ways.[2] The growth of this diversity in the society is a direct effect of its diminishing isolation.

128 To treat of Nyakyusa villages as if missions, or the Administration, or migrant labour and coffee export did not exist would simplify, but distort our analysis. We have therefore included some account of the differences in behaviour between pagan and Christian, of the effects of centralization on the position of village headmen, and of the influence of trade and migration on economic co-operation in the village. A discussion of the organization of schools and Christian congregations; of the development of courts of record, and 'court districts'; of the relation between

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[1] Calculated from figures supplied by the courtesy of the missions and the independent African Churches working in the district.

[2] Moslems are very few and they have little influence on the community as a whole. These few are mostly Swahili traders, Ngoni settlers, or soldiers of the K.A.R. from Nyasaland. We heard of only two or three Nyakyusa who had turned Moslem.

631 In the chiefdom of Mwaipopo, with which we were well acquainted, there are three such minor chiefdoms. In one no heir survived; but the heirs in the other two went through the 'coming out' ceremony with their superior chiefs, and the young men from each of the three formed a separate village, attached to one or other of Mwaipopo's two heirs. How many generations these subordinate chiefdoms survive as separate groups is not certain: the three in Mwaipopo's country were chiefdoms of his junior brothers which had lost their independence to him. In his case four brothers had 'come out' together, and the senior had conquered the others. Probably at the coming out of Mwaipopo's grandson these subordinate chiefdoms will appear only as villages, and no heir from them will be treated as a chief.

This formation of subordinate chiefdoms is a traditional variation of the standard pattern still going on. There are further modifications which are modern.

f. Modern modifications

643 177 In 1926, as has been noted, the British Administration created new 'Native Authorities'. The traditionally independent chiefs of the Nyakyusa were grouped together into eleven court districts,[1] and in each district a 'Native Court' was set up, consisting of the various chiefs and their village headmen, under the hereditary presidency of one of the chiefs, who thereby became senior to all the others in that Court district. Salaries for chiefs were introduced, the senior chiefs receiving far higher salaries than the others; the meetings of each Court are now always held in the territory of the senior chief (*umalafyale unkulumba*), and to this Court has been transferred a great deal of the legal business which, before 1926, was transacted by each chief sitting with his own village headman in his own chiefdom. The chiefs themselves were consulted in the selection of the Court presidents, and those chosen were normally the chiefs with the greatest number of men in each particular Court district.

The introduction of salaries has had a profound effect upon the relative status of the two young chiefs who 'come out' together. When an ordinary chief, with a small salary, dies, the Government recognizes the first son alone as chief and pays the whole

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[1] There are two other courts in Rungwe district for Ndali and Lambya.

1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

salary to him. This reduces the second son to the position of a 643
minor chief as effectively as a defeat in war might have done in 177
the old days. But, while the action of warfare only occasionally
led to the subordination of one of the brothers, this action of the
Government does so invariably, and always subordinates the
younger brother. When a senior chief dies, on the other hand, the
salary is usually divided; the bulk of it goes to the first son,
together with the position of senior chief, while the second son is
given the salary of an ordinary chief.

Nevertheless, whether the junior brother is to become a chief in receipt of a salary or not, he still goes through the 'coming out' ceremony with his brother, and is apportioned villages and headmen. Even in a country in which there are several minor chiefs there still is the division into two, some being regarded as subordinate to the senior heir, and the others to the junior. Division of a chiefdom into two at the 'coming out' is the basic form which is maintained, at least ceremonially, despite all modifications.

The introduction of Courts and salaries has brought a new element 643
into the relationship between the old chief and his heirs. Only 177
one of them can receive the salary and they commonly dispute
about it. Quarrels are particularly frequent over the position of 578
senior chief, for the presidency of a Court carries with it a relatively
large salary. Old senior chiefs cling to the position long
after their sons have 'come out'. There is no compulsory superannuation
of chiefs, and the traditional mechanism for getting
rid of an old chief when his sons were ready to take over—
strangulation by his councillors—no longer operates. The old
headmen remain in power along with the old chief. Thus one
effect of British Administration in Nyakyusa country has been to
maintain the older generation in power much longer than was
traditionally usual, and to delay the assumption of full responsibility
for government by the younger generation..

Another modern change which has far-reaching effects is the 643
omission in some chiefdoms of the 'coming out' ceremony.
When there is no 'coming out' the old men do not move aside 177
to make room for their sons, and consequently the territorial 621
demarcation between villages of old and young becomes blurred.
Among the neighbouring people of Ngonde the 'coming out'
ceremony has been dropped. There boys still build apart from
their fathers, and the villages of young and old are more or

643 177 621 less separate, but as time goes on the demarcation between them becomes less and less clear. In most chiefdoms of the Nyakyusa the ceremony is still observed, but in the country of Porokoto, near Rungwe mission, it has not been performed for a generation, and there the territorial separation between young and old is much less definite than in other chiefdoms. The maintenance of the age-village system is ultimately dependent upon the moving aside of the old men in each generation to make room for their sons.

The reason commonly given for the omission of the ceremony in Ngonde is that since the country has become more densely populated there is no longer room for two chiefs to divide the country of their father. The old system of division was adapted to an expanding population in a relatively empty country; and the two young chiefs ordinarily ruled a greater area, and more men, than their father. Further, it is said, the ritual was in one aspect a preparation for war, and fighting between chiefdoms has ceased. These explanations are obviously not adequate, since the ceremony is still performed in Nyakyusa chiefdoms in which there is neither room for expansion, nor war. Its omission may be related rather to the general abandoning of traditional rituals in Ngonde. Forty-five per cent of the people of Ngonde, including many leading men, are professing Christians, and there is a very general scepticism of the efficacy of traditional rituals. This scepticism extends even to those who are not Church members.

643 797 In Porokoto's chiefdom the 'coming out' was omitted partly because of a dispute over the succession; but there, also, many of the traditional rituals are not regularly performed (as they are in other parts of Nyakyusa country), because the proportion of Christians is high since Porokoto's chiefdom adjoins the main Moravian mission station, Rungwe, and because pagan faith in these rituals has therefore been shaken. As Porokoto (who is not a professing Christian himself) put it, when explaining why he had not performed the twin ritual for his own twin daughters: 'We see that nothing happens to the Christians when they omit the rituals, so we begin to say "What value have they?"' Thus not only are Christians forbidden by their Churches to participate in the ritual acts of the 'coming out' but pagans themselves begin to doubt their necessity.

The presence of Christians further complicates the traditional

577 us that it was a great effort to her to accept food from the Poroto
515 when she went on preaching tours, because their huts and pots
were so dirty.

351 Trees are felt to add to the dignity of a homestead as well as
throwing a grateful shade; the beautiful *umwali* trees have long
577 been valued for this purpose, and to-day exotics are much
sought after. For example, the old chief Mwaipopo, noticing a
fine cypress when he visited us at Isumba (a cottage that had
once been a German mission hospital) inquired whether there
were not some seedlings under the tree. He himself carefully dug
up one and took it away to plant in his 'capital'. Some Nyakyusa
even *steal* trees to adorn their homesteads. It is said that jacarandas
planted out in an avenue at Tukuyu disappeared within a
very short time.

The attributes of dignity in the homestead are changing perceptibly.
341 Well-built huts in the old style, a long *ikibaga*, a well-swept
577 court, fruitful bananas, and fine *umwali* trees are mentioned
•177 by the old men; but many of the younger ones prefer hip-roofed
houses (a style introduced by Europeans and known, appropriately
enough, as 'the partridge') with windows and door of European
pattern, beds of flowers, roses, fine coffee and exotic trees.
Yet they keep the court well swept; for lawns have not become
fashionable.

577 A fine presence, a well-kept homestead rich in cattle and
bananas and shaded with stately trees, are in themselves impressive,
but the possessor of them only reaches his full dignity
when he acts as host, and uses his fine food and fine home for
lavish hospitality. Wealth and an impressive manner, without
urbanity and hospitality, may well lead to accusations of witchcraft.

c. Display

156 Feasts provide opportunity for swaggering parades and dances
in which the Nyakyusa delight to display themselves and their
possessions; they are the great occasions for *ukumoga*, that is,
display in approved forms. Dancing, exhibiting a beautiful body
with only a narrow bark-cloth belt to hide it, showing off physical
strength and the aggressiveness of a warrior, parading orna-

156 ments and fine clothes, or a splendid herd of cattle—all these are forms of *ukumoga*.

Traditionally Nyakyusa women wore only a bark-cloth belt
291 tied around the waist and drawn between the legs to fall in streamers in front (cf. Plate XIII), and the pagan women cling to
●177 this dress, maintaining that it is only 'Swahili women with dirty diseases' who have to wear clothes to cover their sores, and if a pagan woman has a cloth she will probably wave it like a flag or hang it over one shoulder, when she dances. Except for the Christians, few Nyakyusa women regularly wear clothes. The Christians like a brightly coloured cloth tied under the armpits, and hanging to the knees (cf. Plate IX). Women make their own
[287] bark-cloths with great care, and decorate them with geometrical patterns in red and black, the red dye being imported from the Livingstone mountains; they mix this same dye with a fatty
[309] ointment made from the seeds of the *unsyunguti* tree, and rub it all over themselves. The most prized ornament (worn by both
[301] sexes) are body rings of coiled brass or copper wire (cf. Plate XIII). In the past men went naked except for these body rings[1] but, unlike the women, they have taken enthusiastically to clothes, and swagger around in brilliant loin-cloths or flowing white togas; or, if rather more sophisticated, in freshly pressed shorts and shirts, or lounge suits and topees.

535 The series of ceremonies at a girl's initiation and marriage, and
156 at a funeral, are regular occasions for dancing, and the birth and death rates are so high that these occur very frequently within a chiefdom of 3,000 men. Once in a generation the eagerly anticipated 'coming out' ceremony offers an even greater opportunity for display. Skill in dancing is admired and the young people are encouraged to practise. A bride's mother does a great deal of the heavy work for her daughter, saying '*amoge tasi*', which means literally 'let her display herself first', and implies 'let her have a good time while she can'; and a father may use the same phrase of his son. Angombwike explained: 'The old men used to take
156 great pride in their sons; often a man would say to his son: "Don't
593 you hoe for me, I'll do the hoeing myself, you go and swagger about." Sometimes a man would sell a cow and buy a huge-bladed spear and give it to his son. Then, if he heard that his son

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[1] cf. Elton, op. cit., p. 322; H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 18.

606 house, one pouring wet day, when sitting or cooking out of doors was impossible. Mwambelike's wife was cooking for us and other visitors. Suddenly there was a cry from her husband and others, 'Father-in-law!' She ran out of the room, leaving her cooking. The man who came in was a mother's brother's son (*untani*) of Mwambelike's father, and counted as a mother's brother (*umwipa*) to Mwambelike. Mwambelike explained to him that his wife was cooking and asked him to stay 'at the door', so he went out, and the woman came back. She cooked placidly for half an hour. Mwambelike said: 'Tell my daughter to come and help you with the cooking', then, looking round, he said: 'Oh no, she can't, her father-in-law is here too.' This was her betrothed husband's mother's brother. Mwambelike's daughter was about thirteen years old and had not yet reached puberty. Some time later the wife called to this girl to bring her some water. Nothing was said by the men and after three calls the girl scurried in giggling, put the water down, and scurried out. Then the men took notice, the 'father-in-law' said nothing, but Mwambelike said apologetically: 'It's all right; she did not look at him.' When the wife had finished cooking our food she went out, and the men called her 'father-in-law' in. He stayed about five minutes then, realizing that all the men were hungry, he said: 'I will go away. Let her get on with her cooking'; so he went out and she came back and cooked for the other guests.

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The strength of the feeling against seeing one's father-in-law is apparent in the behaviour of Christian women. The missionaries have taught that avoidance is unnecessary and inconvenient, if not unchristian, and that a daughter-in-law should behave as a daughter to her husband's father. Various Christian women assured us that they 'did not avoid their fathers-in-law', though most admitted to 'avoiding a little'. One day S—, who had volunteered that she did not avoid her father-in-law, had come to tea with us, together with another Christian woman. S—'s father-in-law, a chief, came along the veranda on an unexpected visit. Before he was visible S— leapt up, gasped 'father-in-law!' and hid herself in the corner of the room behind the door, facing the wall with her face buried in her hands. She stood there a few seconds gasping, then came back to her place and pushing away her chair, sat down on the floor, whispering determinedly: 'I *won't* avoid him, I *won't* avoid him.' Her friend also slipped off

her chair and sat on the floor. We said to Mwaipopo as he entered: 606
'There is a daughter-in-law here.' He said: 'That's all 177
right, she is enjoying the company of Kagile (M.W.)', but he was
obviously restive, and went outside as soon as food appeared. He 795
said to G.W.: 'That's quite all right, let them go on enjoying each
other's company. She (i.e. S—) does not avoid me because M—
(a local missionary) brought her to me one day and I killed a bull
for them, but let us stay outside now, for they would be ashamed
to eat.' The women protested very much saying *they* would go
out, but the chief would not agree. As soon as they had drunk
their tea they hurried off, and crouching down with their backs
towards the men they answered their farewell greetings.

In reply to queries as to why they insist that father-in-law and 606
daughter-in-law avoid one another, the Nyakyusa relate a myth of 835
incest between them: 'Long ago a chief's son married a very
beautiful wife. The boy's father saw the girl and after one look
desired her, for she was very beautiful, and he said: "She is fit to
be a chief's wife (*umwehe*)." Men said this was a very bad thing
and agreed that in future they would not look at their daughters-in-law.
That is how avoidance began. It was for fear of fathers
making love to their sons' wives.' This myth is related with some
diffidence, and not everyone knows it, but it was told us, or
referred to, repeatedly, and may be taken as current in the society.
One informant, a very intelligent woman doctor, also associated
seeing a father-in-law with seeing his sexual activities. 'We think
that to see your husband's father is very rude, because it is as if
you saw him sleeping with your husband's mother. You compare,
you see, your husband's body and you see your husband's father's
body. It is very bad.'

Age-villages are then associated with the feeling that fathers-in-law 606
and daughters-in-law must be kept completely separate 621
lest they should commit incest, and that adolescent youths should
not have any glimpse of the sexual activities of their parents; but 834
the separation of the generations is not complete, for marriage 582
with the daughter of a village neighbour is approved, provided
he is not an *immediate* neighbour. Mwakionde explained that in 582
the old days people disliked marriage with the daughter of a next-door
neighbour because she was 'like a daughter'—'the fathers
ate *embalaga* (a dish made with bananas) together'—but marriage
with the daughters of other village-mates was always approved.

838 villages—they begin among boys of ten to fourteen herding cows, and continue among young men until marriage, but they are said never to continue after that, and are regarded simply as a substitute for heterosexual pleasure. 'A man never dreams of making love to another man'—only of making love to a woman. If a boy's own father, or a village father, finds a son with another youth he will beat him, but provided both parties were willing, there is no court case, and the older men treat the practice [684] tolerantly as a manifestation of adolescence. To force a fellow to have homosexual intercourse against his will is a serious offence, comparable to witchcraft (*vide* Document, p. 196). Lesbian practices are said also to exist, but we have no certain evidence of this: if they do occur it is much more likely to be among the older wives of chiefs and other polygynists than among the girls, who have so much attention from young men.'

864 It is in conversation and play with village contemporaries that some knowledge of sex is acquired. Girls learn about sex from their immediate seniors, and they get some sex experience, along with formal instruction on morals, at the puberty rituals of their seniors in the age-village and at their own initiation. Boys learn from the conversation of their older fellows at night, in the boys' village. Any suggestion that sex education should be given by parents or middle-aged teachers shocks the Nyakyusa profoundly, for they hold that discussion of sex is totally incompatible with the respect due from children to parents. The taboo on sex talk between members of different generations appears to be absolute among men, but is less emphasized among women, for formal instruction on morals is given to a girl by her mother's fellows during the initiation ritual, and a young wife of her father, or of her father's neighbour, may whisper advice on sex matters even although she is classed as a 'mother'.

534 795 ● 177 As we have already indicated, there are profound differences between pagans and Christians in their sex code. The Christian dogma that sex relations should only take place between adult married persons excludes the freedom of girls to have external sex relations before betrothal, or in the 'bride's' hut; it excludes girls visiting their betrothed husbands before puberty; and it excludes homosexuality, which is regarded as a mortal sin. Segregation of successive generations is not a part of the Christian tradition, hence the modifications in the rules of avoid-

834 795 177

ance among Nyakyusa Christians, and the tendency for fathers and sons to build fairly close to one another.

The forms of display approved among Christians are also changing with the change in the sex code. The nakedness of the Nyakyusa shocked the missionaries, and it is insisted that Christian women, as well as men, should wear at least one cloth; also many of the traditional dances and songs are felt by the Nyakyusa converts themselves to be incompatible with the profession of Christianity, consequently at funerals and weddings there is often a group of Christians dancing quite separately from pagans, and singing their own song, which, more often than not, is a hymn. A wedding dance to a hymn does not appear incongruous to Nyakyusa, as it does to European observers.

e. Wisdom

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There is a very close connection between the values we have cited, and all save one are coherent with one another. The enjoyment of good company implies observance of the rules of decency; *ukwangala* is between equals, not between parents and children; it merges into neighbourliness, for one who does not help, or seek help from, a neighbour is unfriendly (*atikwangala kanunu*); and it is dependent upon that generous hospitality which is one of the manifestations of dignity (*ubusisya*).

The one value which is not wholly coherent with the others is the value of display (*ukumoga*). Certain forms of display are compatible with urbanity and friendliness between neighbours, but the swaggering truculence of the warrior is not—it is liable to breed quarrels between fellow villagers, as well as with outsiders; and display also ceases to be compatible with other values when it involves adultery. [837] The friends of a woman who has eloped with a lover may greet her with the phrase: '*Ndaga, umogile!*' which literally translated means 'Thank you, you have displayed yourself', and implies, 'Congratulations! Had a good time?' But no Nyakyusa would maintain that to commit adultery was, in general, good.

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The all-embracing virtue to the Nyakyusa is wisdom (*amahala*). It includes the enjoyment of company and the practice of hospitality, for no man is wise who is surly, or aloof, or stingy; it includes neighbourly behaviour, dignity, and respect for law and

622 795 184 his village headmen. In some villages the 'elder' is both a religious leader and a secular authority, but there is a tendency to separate the two offices and to appoint a 'peacemaker' whose duty it is to settle disputes, collect taxes, and represent the village in its relationships with the chief and the administration, while the 'elder' confines himself to watching over the spiritual welfare of his people. Such division of authority is symptomatic of the growing differentiation of Nyakyusa society.

e. *Witchcraft, medicines, and the British administration*

754 177 627 Under British administration the use of the *umwafi* ordeal, imputation of witchcraft, intimidation or obtaining goods under false pretences by threats of witchcraft or sorcery, or offers of protection against them, are punishable offences. As we have seen, the ordeal is now administered only in the greatest secrecy, and probably very seldom, but accusations of witchcraft are frequent, and are even heard before the Native Courts, though not recorded (*vide* Document, p. 257). In the villages near the Government station more caution is observed in making accusations than in more remote parts of the district: very often the identity of the witch is only hinted at, or thorns are piled at his door by persons who remain anonymous (*vide supra*, p. 114) so that no individual can be convicted of imputing witchcraft. As one man put it: '"The defenders" see the witches, but cannot name them to anyone.' [763] Autopsies continue in conservative villages but they are no longer performed on every corpse, as is said to have been customary in the old days. The chief Porokoto, himself a sceptic, argued that it was no use performing an autopsy when a charge could not be laid. If the members of a village are all convinced that a particular fellow is a witch he is forced to move, since his unpopularity becomes intolerable to him (*supra*, pp. 110–5). As Mwambuputa put it: 'We don't like him, and he doesn't like us either: he does not enjoy our company (*atikwangala na nuswe*), so he moves.' But if the friction is only between two individuals, the supposed witch may brazen it out, for without resort to the *umwafi* ordeal there is no sure means of deciding between the accuser and the accused.

754 177 The prohibition of witch-finding is not accepted as right and just: the common view is that the Europeans 'protect the witches',

and they are condemned for doing so. One old man argued in this 754 way: 'Where you Europeans are wrong is in forbidding witchcraft in word only and not in spirit. It does no good to say that 177 witchcraft does not exist; but if you had driven witchcraft out of our hearts that would have been good.' And again: ' "The defenders" still fight the witches, they make great efforts, but they may no longer speak about it. In the old days when a witch went to choke his fellow "the defenders" would see him and turn him back, and then on the morrow they would tell people that he was a witch, and he would have to go to the chief and take the ordeal which would convict him. But now "the defenders" have to be silent because of you Europeans who say there is no witchcraft, so that though the witch is perhaps turned back the first night, the next night he goes again and throttles his fellow.' Many Nyakyusa think that Europeans are hypocrites when they deny belief in witchcraft. One friend, the Christian wife of a chief, said to us: 'You are dissembling like all Europeans, you don't want to admit the reality of witchcraft. You are just dissembling.' Nor are Europeans thought to be immune from witchcraft: the attacks of malaria from which we ourselves suffered were immediately interpreted by our servants and friends as due to witches.

Since most people are sure that evil desires manifesting them- 754 selves as witchcraft or sorcery exist, movements of witch-finders partake of the nature of religious revivals. The *Muchapi* movement, described by Dr. Richards for the Bemba[1] appeared among the Nyakyusa in 1932, and had a brief popularity, dying out again before 1934. The professed aim of the leader was to rid the country of witchcraft and sorcery, and the attitude of most Nyakyusa was expressed in the comment of a Christian friend who said to us: 'He (the witch-finder) did very well because he brought to light all those that killed people and made them hand over the medicines which they had used.'

The sense of insecurity created by a continuing belief in witch- 166 craft along with the prohibition of the traditional means of dis- 754 covering witches, finds expression in the frequent movement of individuals from village to village. Such movement occurred in the past, and it was often linked with suspicion of witchcraft, but whereas in the old days it was always the individual convicted in

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[1] A. I. Richards, 'A Modern Movement of Witch-finders', *Africa*, Vol. VIII (1935). pp. 448–61.

account with other villages of the same chiefdom, and forming a 621
detachment under its own headman in the army of the chiefdom. 701
Before an attack each village was harangued by its headman who urged: 'Keep all your spears together. If you abandon your fellow you have a case against you! All return together!' And, as we have seen, it was held that men of the same village should stand shoulder to shoulder in war and in a hunt, that they might be brave.

Cattle raids and adultery cases were the prime causes of war— 721
fighting commonly began with a dispute over a woman, or lust
for meat. Less frequently it was a quarrel between two villages 764
or two chiefdoms over a boundary that led to war. Hostilities often flared up at a funeral when men danced the war dance with spears (*ukukina*). The Nyakyusa interpret this dancing at funerals as an expression of anger at death, a protest against death.[1] 'Formerly we protested against death, we said: "Our fellow has died, *aje!* Let us put our friend to rest!" We protested with war, we protested with spears, and people died.' Or as another informant put it, 'The war dance is a way of weeping. We dance the war dance because war is in our hearts.' But the anger at death very easily merged into anger against human enemies. 'If the men of two chiefdoms or two villages were present at a burial they would quarrel and fight. The fight began when one hurled his spear into the ground and thus spewed the earth over someone else. Perhaps there would be only a few dancing at first and many sitting down, but when a neighbouring chief was seen approaching with his men, and the sound of the trumpets was heard, those already there would say: "If we sit still they will say there are no men but only women at this funeral. Let us dance too." So they would all get up and dance, and if the others did anything there would be war. Now the custom of the war dance is dying out. We chiefs control it, and when another chief comes to a funeral we tell all our men to sit down while he and his men dance at the grave, because if we do not, the war of old times is liable to break out.'

In fact peace has been effectively enforced among the Nyak- 721
yusa.[2] We neither saw nor heard of a fight in the three years we 672
were there. Thus mutual dependence in war is no longer a strong 673
sanction for village unity. The joint responsibility for certain 177

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[1] cf. Godfrey Wilson, 'Nyakyusa Conventions of Burial', *Bantu Studies*, Vol. XIII (1939.)

[2] A contrast to Pondoland or Zululand.

721 torts committed by its members has also disappeared. Instead,
672 there is both a great increase in the number of cases treated as
673 offences against the state; murder, manslaughter and grievous
177 bodily injury being no longer treated as offences against a group of kin, but as crimes against the state; and a great extension in the *range* of law. A modern Nyakyusa has no difficulty in suing a debtor, or the seducer of his wife, living in another chiefdom.

621 Nevertheless neighbours still feel a certain obligation for the
672 maintenance of each other's rights. For example, a certain young man eloped with a very young girl, who, though betrothed, had not yet reached puberty. On their way out of the district they were seen by a 'village father' of the girl, who brought them back to her father, and then joined with him and other neighbours in beating the young man and taking him to the chief. The youth admitted his fault in seducing so young a girl and asked the chief to summon his father-in-law (for he was already married) that he might borrow from his father-in-law the cattle with which to pay the fine for seduction. But his father-in-law was a neighbour of the father of the girl he had seduced, and he refused to lend any cattle, saying, 'You have run off with the daughter of my neighbour in the village: that means you have wronged *me*.'

839 And a group of herd-boys are still liable to be treated by their
672 fathers as responsible for one another. One informant, discussing a case of bestiality committed by a herd-boy, remarked that the leader of the group forbade the others to mention it at home on the ground that 'if our fathers know they will say that we all (in this herd group) do it.'

d. Social separation

681 One of the mechanisms for maintaining good relations in Nyakyusa villages (as in all groups) is the separation of the dissident individual from the group.[1] This separation may be compulsory or voluntary. As we have seen, witches, thieves, adulterers, and obstinate debtors were formerly banished from Nyakyusa villages because they were regarded as a danger to their neighbours, liable to harm them directly or to bring retribution upon them. The village, being held responsible for certain actions of its members, and forming a defensive unit against the sup-

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[1] cf. G. and M. Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change*, pp. 60-1.

tion is already as important beyond as within the village, and 621
village control over the main cash crops has not been established, 476
as it was over certain food crops. With increasing centralization 178
the village headman, embodiment of the solidarity and relative
autonomy of each village, is losing power to the chiefs and courts,
on the one hand, and to the specialist agriculturalists, school
teachers, elders, and ministers of religion on the other.

Friendships beyond the age-village are fostered by common 621
experiences at a boarding school or a labour centre, and by
common interests as members of a church or a coffee co-operative 178
which does not necessarily include fellow villagers. And most 571
important of all, fellow villagers are not bound to one another in
resistance to external dangers as they were formerly. Lion, leo- 572
pard, and buffalo still exist in the district, but we heard of no recent case of a village combining for defence against dangerous (as distinct from destructive) game: if action were necessary a European sportsman was usually glad of the chance of a bag. With the cessation of cattle-raiding and inter-village warfare, the curtailment of the right of self-help, and the development of courts with power to enforce judgement in cases involving members of different chiefdoms, dependence on fellow villagers for protection from material dangers and the responsibility of a village for the actions of its members, virtually cease. A sense of dependence upon neighbours for mystical protection lingers, but as elementary education, belief in Christian dogma, and the solidarity of Christian congregations increase, this supposed dependence upon the *amanga* or mystical power of neighbours also lessens. Many men who fear sorcery (including poisoning) do not fear witchcraft, and it is only against witches that neighbours are believed to protect one. Thus change in the form of beliefs is correlated with the development of more intense relationships beyond the village.

An age-village organization is probably dependent upon isola- 621
tion in another fashion also: by their own account the Nyakyusa
feeling that close association between successive generations is 177
improper has been blunted by the example of Europeans and 784
Swahili who do not share this feeling (*vide supra*, p. 69). The
missionaries teach that avoidance between father- and daughter- 178
in-law is unnecessary, if not in itself sinful, and the implication is that only 'superstition' maintains the taboo (*vide*

621 177 784 178 *supra*, p. 84). The Nyakyusa pattern of avoidance has undoubtedly influenced that of the small groups absorbed by them, but they in turn have been influenced by these groups, and by the example of Christians of neighbouring tribes. In Ilolo avoidance between father- and daughter-in-law is much less strict than in Selya. This was attributed partly to the influence of neighbouring small groups of Nyika and Penja, who had not the same tradition of strict avoidance as the Nyakyusa, and partly to the influence of the Christians, whose number was proportionately greater in Ilolo than in Selya. As Nyakyusa informants argued: the pagans see Christian women disregard avoidance taboos, and they see that nothing dreadful happens to them (as the result of their neglect), so the pagans, too, begin to think that avoidance is of no importance.

621 561 178 The relationship between the generations is also modified among the Nyakyusa, as among other African people, by the power of young men to earn money and so command wealth. As we have seen, sons are in a position to *invite* their fathers to drink beer in the father's own homestead. Once fathers and sons have begun to *ukwangala*, drinking beer together, and once the horror of a woman seeing her father-in-law has diminished, then there is much less insistence on the need to buttress separation of the generations by territorial segregation. When convenient, fathers and sons will continue to live apart, but if a building site and arable land near his age-mates is lacking a son may suggest that avoidance does not really matter after all, and his father (if a Christian or a sceptic) may agree to the son building near him.

621 561 178 Nyakyusa age-villages still flourish, but they are hardly likely to survive many decades with increasing pressure on land, the planting of coffee and other long-term crops, the development of trade and migration, and a diminishing isolation from the ideas and values of the outside world. Age is no longer the sole basis for village grouping in Rungwe district—common belief and common occupation now provide other grounds for building together. There are Christian villages, an administrative station, a military station, and trading centres such as Mwaya, the Lake port. Tukuyu (the administrative centre) has its police lines, quarters for hospital attendants, traders' quarters, and so on,
cod while Masoko has soldiers' and traders' quarters. This account of age-villages may therefore have some significance as a docu-

6. CHANGE IN THE RELATION OF FATHERS AND SONS

Record of G. W.

561 Mwambuputa, the headman, was building himself a new house with the help of six other men. He invited us to wait and join in the
177 beer and bananas, which were about to be served.

264 A boy came to call two of the builders to enjoy the company (and food?) of some other friends. They went off. It turned out that these two were from the boys' village, Katumba, one being a 'son' of Mwambuputa, and the other a friend of this 'son'. They had been eating and drinking with the rest of us.

Q.: 'In the old days, would these two have eaten and drunk with you—boys with men? Would you have called them to help you build?'

'No, formerly that was not the custom. Though we should have called them to help us build, they would not have drunk beer, and they would have eaten their calabash of milk separately, over there (pointing to a corner of the hut), while we men were here with our food and beer.'

Q. 'How is it then that the customs have changed, that now you eat, and even drink, with them?'

'You brought it yourselves, you Europeans. You sit down with your children at table and eat together, and the Swahili do the same. So we say: "He! Formerly we hated our children!" We said: "Eat over there." Let us eat with them!'

Q.: 'No, that does not convince us at all. The Europeans are strangers. How many of you have been into a European's house and seen them eating? Only the house-boys!'

Mwambuputa: 'All right, ask the others!'

Mwalubunju: 'Let me speak! In the old days, because there was war, we objected very much to the young men drinking beer with us. If we all drank together and the war cry was raised we should all be defeated. And men did not begin drinking in the morning, never! They began in the late afternoon when the cows came home . . . and in the evening each went home to his own house . . . but now, since the country is at peace, the young men also drink beer.'

Q.: 'Yes, but still I don't see why you drink *with* them. Why not give them a separate pot? And you eat with them, too.'

Mwambuputa: 'Because, as Mwalubunju has said, the country has fallen to you. It is at peace and there is no war, so the young men buy

their own beer.[1] Sometimes my son brings his pot to my place and 561
calls his friends, saying: "We will take the pot to mother's house. She 177
will pour in water for us." Then they come to my place and they invite
me to drink and I accept and we drink together. How then can I 264
grudge my son beer when I have some? Did he and his friends not entertain me'?

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[1] This, of course, is not so much a result of peace as of new opportunities of gaining wealth on the Lupa gold-fields and elsewhere, but to the Nyakyusa the two things go together as 'European times' (*ikisungu*).

771 105 mediate ancestors of the participants, and another set which concern chiefdoms and groups of chiefdoms, and are directed towards the immediate ancestors of ruling chiefs and certain distant ancestors of the chiefs' line, heroes in Nyakyusa history. The name of one of these heroes, Kyala, has been used by the missionaries to translate the word 'God', but all the evidence available goes to show that Kyala was, traditionally, but one of several distant ancestors to whom regular sacrifices were made on behalf of a large group of chiefdoms. All the rituals of this type—those directed to family shades, the chiefs' ancestors, and the heroes—are concerned with that which is beneath (*pasi*), not that which is above. Men look to the earth where corpses are buried, not to any sky god.

121 771 The theme of the present volume is the rituals celebrated by kinsmen at death, at the puberty and marriage of a girl (the last two events usually coinciding), at birth, especially twin birth, and in misfortune. A further volume will deal with the communal rituals celebrated before the annual break of the rains; whenever public misfortune such as drought, flood, famine, or plague occurs or threatens; before battle; and when a chief is succeeded by his sons, and the younger generation take over power from their elders. 881 There is no circumcision or initiation of men other than the 'coming out' ceremony, when a whole generation takes over responsibility for the administration and defence of the chiefdom from their fathers. Some reference to three of the heroes—Kyala, Lwembe, and Mbasi—is made in texts on the rituals of kinsmen, but our discussion of them is postponed to the second book in which the rituals directed to them are described.

775 177 128 A section of the Nyakyusa people is Christian and its influence on pagan thought and practice is appreciable; however, discussion of this is also postponed to the second book, since it is most evident in the changing concept of Kyala. There, too, the connections between change in ritual and other aspects of the social structure between 1934 and 1955 are analysed.

121 771 The Nyakyusa cult of senior relatives (like any ancestor cult) is not intelligible or significant apart from a study of kinship, and it may be argued that this material should be presented only as part of an analysis of Nyakyusa kinship, but we cannot discuss everything at once and some measure of abstraction is necessary. No one ritual among the Nyakyusa is fully intelligible without reference to the whole series of rituals. The principle, propounded forty-five years ago by Professor Radcliffe-Brown, that a symbol

761
765 the lives and enter the dreams of their kinsmen; but the nature of
775 their survival is uncertain.

A man, when he dies, is believed to join his ancestors. Until the
775 end of the funeral rites, they say, he is on the way and if the ritual
765 is not properly performed he does not reach them, but troubles the dreams and lives of the survivors until he is properly driven away. 'If you do not perform the ritual for your father or mother you may go mad or else have a slow and lingering death.'

177 Many of the younger pagans, however, are affected by Christian
775 belief. Young men spoke confidently of going after death 'to a fine
797 country with dancing and feasting and a chief to rule us'. But many old men scoff at such beliefs. 'They have learnt them from the missionaries—how do they know, have they been there to see?' Among some of the younger men also the ritual of death is less important than it used to be. As one Christian said: 'The pagans no longer fear to die away from home—they used to fear very much to die in a strange country (and many still do), they thought: "If I die far from home I shall never reach my ancestors, for people will not bury me properly." Nor do all the young men now fear if they fail to attend a father's funeral ritual.' 'We no longer believe in the old rituals,' said a sophisticated young pagan, 'because we see that the Christians do not do these things and nothing happens to them.'

761 An additional reason for fearing death is the Nyakyusa belief in
753 the contagious character of many diseases. Death is thought to be
754 caused sometimes by witchcraft, and sometimes by one of a variety of diseases. Of these diseases some are held to be hereditary and to run in families, and they are usually non-contagious; others, and they are usually contagious, are believed to be due to the sorcery of enemies. And the contagion is thought to be spread by an autopsy. It is especially dangerous to relatives; other people do not fear these diseases unless they actually hold the corpse in their arms, or dig the grave, or help to bury it, but all relatives are afraid.

764 Besides the contagion of specific diseases, the corpse itself is held always to have a vaguely defined, but none the less fearful, contagion of its own. And, because of this, all who have had any close contact with the body go to bathe immediately after the burial. Those of the chief mourners who hold the body in their arms, the grave-diggers and those who get down into the grave to bury it, all go to bathe. 'Even when death is no due to a contagious disease

it seems as if there was another disease in the corpse itself, it is a 764
stinking mass of disease.' Traditionally they use two medicinal
plants to wash with, but in some chiefdoms near mission stations
they now wash without them. The chief of one such country explained:
'In the old days they feared very much to eat before
bathing—but now sometimes they just wash their hands and eat. [177]
Of old they feared death, they feared lest the disease should spread,
they wished to rid themselves of the contamination of the corpse.
They used to wash with two plants—as medicine. Now they just
bathe in the stream or sometimes only just wash their hands.' But, [184]
particularly in chiefdoms at a distance from the centres of European
influence, the fear of the contagion of death is still very
strong.

Death then is, for the majority of pagan Nyakyusa, a fearful as 761
well as a grievous event; less fearful than it used to be to their 184
fathers, but more fearful by far to them than it is to their Christian
neighbours.

(c) *The sacrifice*

At all except the very poorest burials one or more head of cattle 764
are killed. Cows are provided whenever possible, but, if no cows are available, bulls may be used instead. If the man who has died left cattle of his own, one at least of his herd is killed; if he has left none, his family make every effort to buy or borrow one, or else they provide one themselves from their own herds. If the dead man was rich, several of his cows will be killed. If his senior son has cattle of his own, he should kill one for his father (*ikumbamba*) and if there are a number of grown-up sons the senior of each group of full brothers will offer a cow.

Not only the immediate family of a dead man but also the 764
fathers (or brothers) of his wives and the husbands of his full 602
sisters and daughters are expected to provide cows for killing at his burial, and if he is buried at his 'father's' place then his 'father's' affinal relatives also are expected to bring cattle or cloths. When a married woman dies, her husband and her own 'father' are expected each to provide a cow or a bull. Occasionally other affines of her husband bring calves, but less usually. More cattle are killed for men than for women. For a young child nothing is killed.

The cattle are killed either by the dead man's 'father' or by his 764
heir; if a woman has died, then by her husband. At a man's burial 768

men cut down some of the bananas which surround the huts and 764 [535] the open place in front of them. 'The owner has died, it is a sign to men that someone has died there.' 'We do it so that it should not seem as if he was still alive; if the bananas were not cut but all stood they would cause us to remember that he was recently alive.' 'We wish the dead man to take them with him to the land of the shades.' And for exactly the same reasons some of the calabashes and pots of a dead woman are broken at her burial, and saplings of the *ficus* used for making bark-cloth are cut down. We have seen older men get up and check the dancers from destroying too many bananas. They told us that 'in the old days we used to cut down all the bananas of a dead man and any crops that were growing [77] near the house also; but now we think that if we destroy all the food his children will die of hunger! So we just cut down a few bananas.' This destruction of food is connected with the belief that a man, when he dies, takes the fertility of the land with him, and this loss of fertility can only be avoided by the proper performance of the funeral ritual. The present moderation of the ritual destruction of food is, we think, an index of the decline of the power of the old belief; for the fear of future hunger, which now restrains them, used to encourage them to a greater sacrifice.

(*d*) *The wailing and dancing*

From the time of the death until the end of the three or four days of the burial rites, wailing continues intermittently. 'We weep because we grieve and tremble with fear.' The old women are the most persistent, next come the men and boys. 'The women weep all the time; even at night they only sleep a little, weeping and sleeping and then weeping again! But we men weep just once, when we first arrive, we do not go on and on.' The chief mourners (*abenemfwa*: lit. owners of the death) among the women, that is the mother, stepmothers, wives, sisters, daughters, and brothers' wives, spend most of the time inside one of the huts, which is the centre of the wailing. The other women spend some time inside the hut, wailing with the chief mourners, but then they move to make way for others and sit just outside. On the plain and in 764 Selya they sit packed close together and sway rhythmically as they 184 wail in chorus, following a leader who stands in their midst. Tears roll down her face as she chants short phrases ending in the high-pitched wail: 'Alas father! Alas! Aaaaaaaaaaaa! Farewell! Go So-and-so, farewell . . .: we long for you, Father, farewell!' In the

dead man'. Sometimes, immediately after the burial, the chief 764
mourners, both men and women, wail outside near the newly-
filled grave.

Very many of the women relatives, a few of the men relatives, 764
and some of the neighbours smear their heads and faces with mud
or pot-black as a sign of grief (*kyo kesa*). Such an expression of 177
grief is thought extravagant by the Christians who have themselves
abandoned the custom. One Christian explained: 'The pagans
smear themselves with mud because they tremble with fear at a
death—but we do not tremble; the pagans are very sorrowful be-
cause they say: "Our friend has vanished from our eyes and we
shall never meet him happily again." '

It is also the custom for the women relatives to bind one 292
another's bellies with strips of bark-cloth, and for their woman 764
friends to bind them also. These bark-cloth belts are called
amakiba and symbolize the fearful grief and mutual sympathy of
the mourners, and the sympathy of their friends. One women,
who was taking two belts to tie up the bellies of two mourning
friends whose husband had died, explained: 'I give them these to
tie round their bellies because they are all a-tremble, they are full
of fear.' And when she was asked why men did not thus support
one another, she replied: 'They are not afraid like women, they
do not tremble much.' But there is evidence that, before the coming
of the Europeans, men also wore *amakiba* 'and even now if a chief [177]
dies his men often wear *amakiba* for one day'. The Christian
women have kept the custom, but they emphasize more the aspect
of sympathy and less that of fear. 'If a woman wears many belts at
a burial that means she has many friends; her passionate grief is [572]
comforted by their friendship.'

Sometimes on the first day, and usually on the last two or three 535
days of a burial, there is dancing as well as wailing. Dancing 764
begins late in the morning to the accompaniment of three or four
drums, in the swept courtyard of the dead man's homestead;
gradually it attracts more and more dancers, more and more of
the attention of the onlookers, until the wailing is confined to the
chief women mourners inside the hut, and the dance is the most
conspicuous part of the proceedings. It is led by young men [292]
dressed in a special costume of ankle-bells and cloth skirts and, [302]
traditionally, bedaubed with red and white clay. All hold spears
and leap wildly about, stamping down the soft earth of the grave
as they dance. There is little common movement, each dances

764 535 alone as if fighting a single combat. Among the men some of the women move about, singly or in twos and threes, calling the war-cry and swinging their hips in a kind of rhythmical walk. Under a tropical sun in a damp heat, with the thermometer often over 90° F. in the shade, they dance for hours. In the dust and noise and excitement there are no very apparent signs of grief; and yet if you ask the onlookers what it is all about they reply: 'They are mourning the dead.'

764 535 721 177 This burial dance is traditionally a dance of war; now, as also in former times, it provides those men who are most affected by grief and fear with a violent and passionate means of expression, in which their feelings are assuaged by the touch of life; for the others it was, in the old days, an assertion of their own and their dead neighbour's warlike quality, and this significance is still vividly present to their minds; but, after a generation and more of peace, its content is changing and the sexual element, always present in it, is rapidly dominating the old memories.

764 535 721 'This war-dance (*ukukina*)', said an old man, 'is mourning, we are mourning the dead man. We dance because there is war in our hearts. A passion of grief and fear exasperates us (*ilyojo likutusila*).' Since this statement is the clue to both the present and the traditional meaning of the war-dance for the chief mourners, we must examine the language carefully. *Ilyojo* means a passion of grief, anger or fear; *ukusila* means to annoy or exasperate beyond endurance. In explaining *ukusila* one man put it like this: 'If a man continually insults me then he exasperates me (*ikusila*) so that I want to fight him.' Death is a fearful and grievous event that exasperates those men nearly concerned and makes them want to fight. The chief mourners and personal friends among the women assuage their feelings in the wailing, among the men in the war-dance. 'A kinsman, when he dances, assuages his passionate grief (*ilyojo*); he goes into the house to weep and then he comes out and dances the war-dance; his passionate grief is made tolerable in the dance (lit. he is able to endure it there, in the dance), it bound his heart and the dance assuages it.'

This exasperated and fearful grief was linked in traditional expression with a general salute to the warlike quality of man. Those of old said: 'The dead man was a lively dancer in battle, and now he is dead we dance for him, he too was a fighting dancer!' 'He was a warrior (lit. a man of the spear), we dance now, as he danced himself, the dance of war.' And this salute at the same time gave

764 535 721 Besides fighting, the dancers indulge in an orgy of destruction, slashing at the bananas and *ficus* saplings (which surround the swept courtyard) with their spears.

764 535 152 The dance was thus, traditionally, a common form for the expression by the dancers of a considerable range of emotions, varying from an intolerable burden of grief and fear to a recognition of and salute to the warlike quality of the dead man and a vivid consciousness of their own. And this last feeling passed easily into actual fighting.

764 534 832 To-day it is not so much into the excitements of warfare that the feelings turn, but rather into those of love. Burial dances are the occasions of much sexual display, of the beginning of some love affairs and the consummation of others, and this is nothing new. 'At a death people did not want war (though it came sometimes), they wanted love-making: they displayed the pride of their strength!' 'We speared one another . . . our wives called the war-cry when they saw the strength of their husbands.'

● 177 535 837 Dances of sexual display, on occasions other than burials, are traditional among the Nyakyusa; but all our informants are unanimous in declaring that both these other dances and the dances of burial are far more frequently followed by lovers' meetings than they used to be. For the enforcement of peace among the Nyakyusa has been accompanied by the prohibition of violence of any kind; and this has freed sexual passion from its rigid traditional bonds. [689] Girls are married young and engaged younger; and while formerly any man who seduced or even flirted with another man's betrothed or wife was speared or tortured by the husband and his friends if they caught him, such punishments are now illegal and the present fine of cattle is a far less effective deterrent. 'In the old days love-making only went on in secret; if a man stood and talked to a woman he expected to be speared. But now the Europeans have introduced the custom of making love openly!' (i.e. by forbidding the previous penalties.)

764 535 832 For all the younger men and women, save the chief mourners and close friends, the quality of the burial dance is now predominantly and openly sexual. But the older people are, on the one hand, more conscious of its warlike associations and, on the other hand, inclined to regard the whole occasion more soberly than their juniors. 'There are two reasons for coming to a burial: the old men come to mourn their friend, they say: "Let us go and mourn him"; but the young men say: "Let us follow the

tradition of the leaping dance and show ourselves to the girls!" 764
And so it is with the women, some of the young women do not 535
come to mourn but to call the war-cry to the boys! Those who 832
come to mourn go into the hut and weep and weep. The young men say that they dance by reason of the women. The old men say that in the past it was different, it was war; the women ran behind the fighters watching the battle and calling the war-cry. And we all say that the present custom of dancing is the softer custom of a peaceful land.'

As the old significance of the dance to the majority of the participants was a lively salute to the dead man's fighting quality and a heightened sense of their own, so now it is his sexual quality which they honour and their own which they enjoy. 'Why', we asked a young man, 'do you dance nowadays at burials? There is little or no warfare and the dead man was never a fighter!' His answer came almost in the traditional form of words: 'We think that he too danced before the women, he was a brave dancer (*mogi*), and so we too dance (*ukukina*) at his death.'

'He too was a brave dancer (*mogi*).' The word *mogi* is from the 535
verb *ukumoga* which refers to the ordinary dances of sexual display 764
in contrast to the war-dance (*ukukina*). It is the war-dance which 721
is still normally danced at death. Not only, however, is its signi- 832
ficance being assimilated to that of the ordinary dances of recre- 177
ation, as this quotation clearly shows, but these other dances are now often performed at burials. Near Rungwe Mission the pagans dance the war-dance on the first day of a burial and sometimes on the second day as well, but always on the third day the dance is
changed. The men abandon cloth skirts, spears, and ankle-bells [292]
and put on their best clothes, an ample white toga being particularly fashionable; the women adorn themselves with great care and some put roses in their hair. The dance is no longer a wild mêlée, but is slow and graceful; and its sexual significance is now apparent, not only in the faces of the dancers and the comments of the bystanders, but also in the forms of movement.

This custom is new. None of the chief mourners takes part in the 535
dance, though they watch it. In the war-dance, however, the chief 764
mourners among the men are expected to participate, and some 721
of them always do so. 'The (men) relatives dance if they have 177
strength, they weep first and then dance. For if they all sit still and no one of them dances we others say that they have not mourned him properly.' But they do not all dance. One old man whose

535 764 brother had just been buried said: 'Those who are really sad sit
721 quite still and silent.' But he was an old man with little strength
●177 for dancing; on the first day of his brother's burial he sat still, but
on the second day he danced a little.

As for the women who participate in the war-dance, running about among the men and calling the war-cry, their behaviour is clearly distinguished in accordance with their relationship to the dead man. 'The distant (women) relatives dance in their dirt, they cannot adorn themselves much, but non-relatives adorn themselves. The wives and sisters of a dead man and the nearer women relatives are the chief mourners and they cannot dance at the burial. They are truly grieved. If a wife danced we'd say she did not love her husband—well, perhaps she might wander round distraught to the sound of the drums, but with grief on her face and without looking at the young men! If she looked at the young men we'd say she did not love her husband. If a brother's wife danced we should laugh at her and say she was no kinswoman of the dead man! But for a man it is different, he dances with his grief to enable his heart to bear it. In the old days, if there was a fight, the chief women mourners did not follow and call the war-cry, but the others; all the men went to fight but not all the women to watch.'

535 Our observation shows that there is just as much dancing at the
764 burials of women as at those of men. Here too the dance, as now
177 performed, combines the two functions: assuaging the fearful grief
832 of some people and providing a sexual display in honour of the
727 dead: 'We dance at her burial, for she too was a brave dancer
(*mogi*).' But in the old days also there was dancing at women's burials: 'For a woman', one old man explained, 'bears us men, so that she too is a warrior.' 'In the past,' said another old man, 'we did dance at women's burials, only a little, not so much as at men's; we said that she was only a woman, but that none the less she also was concerned in war.'

The change in the quality of the burial dance is one of emphasis only; in the past also the sexual element was present: 'We danced so that the women should see our strength'—but it was not dominant. And the warlike quality which was then dominant has by no means disappeared; we heard of many spear-fights at burial dances. At one of them the chief, in order to prevent its continuance, made the dancers abandon the war-dance and finish the funeral with the ordinary dances of sexual display.

781 764 The emotional quality of mourning (*ukulila*) is different in

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764 i. *Kasitile's interpretation.* (Recorded by G. W. in Nyakyusa and
765 translated by him shortly afterwards.)[1]

775 KASITILE: We go to bathe wearing leaves, we throw them away, we bathe, then we come back and shave our hair. This means we are driving away the shade (*unsyuka*), for at first he is in our bodies. Our fathers told us: 'When I die I shall not reach the place of the shades unless you do the ritual for me; those who preceded me will drive me back saying: "You are not one of us, you cannot come, they have not yet done your ritual." For the shades linger on the way at first, they do not reach their place.' We do the ritual so as to tell the shade: 'We have given you everything, now go away and may your fellow shades receive you, do not come here.'

764 When we return from bathing we put a banana in the ground with
765 a pumpkin-seed and a lentil in it. We stoop and bite a piece off, and
828 then we shave the hair. There is much idiocy (*ubulema*) if you do not perform the ritual, and madness (*ikigili*), or perhaps you will have a lingering death. The shade is in the body, he causes madness (*ikigili*), he says: 'Why have you not done the ritual?' The shades pound and stamp the body.

Mwambuputa (a village headman) joining in the conversation said:

775 All this round us [with a sweeping gesture] is the place of the shades.
764 What we have buried is only the body, to prevent it stinking, but the heart (*indumbula*) stays here.

KASITILE: The banana which we bite in the ground is like the
764 sausages of porridge of the Kukwe, it is excrement, it is filth; because
765 I think that if I do not perform the ritual I may run mad and eat filth.
828 Also before this they beat up a mash of cowpeas, they take it with a spoon and put it against the wall, and one by one we come and eat. This also is eating filth so that we may escape and be clean.

● [177] Madness (*ikigili*)[2] is of two kinds, one comes from Kyala (but we used to say from Mbasi, we did not say Kyala) and one from ritual. Mwaipopo (the chief) had the madness (*ikigili*); it is in his family on his mother's side. This is the madness of Mbasi, they do their rituals all right. Mbasi is he who lived with my father here. He called 'Kanjuki! Kanjuki!' from the hillside; then my mother would cook him some food
764 and my father would put something out for him.[3] When we perform
765 the rituals the shades are very pleased to see it; of old you might hear
775 them clapping their hands in the evening here, after we had finished a
826 ritual. But they have gone away now. . . . Yes, the shades are filthy

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[1] I have made minor changes in the translation.

[2] Distinguished from a trance or epileptic fit, [illegible] [illegible].

[3] See *Communal Rituals among the Nyakyusa* (in preparation).

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764 water when we bathe we make a separation—they take a stem of
765 bananas, and a bark-cloth, and a hen to the water. The bananas they
775 throw away—that is the corpse; the hen and the bark-cloth they bring
828 back to the homestead and the officiant takes them home with her—
that is the shade, is not the shade in the house with us? Do we not pray
to him?

QUESTION: Putting food into the pot?

KASITILE: This food is the filth of the body. We say: 'We cast you from us, let our hearts be purified; the mud we smeared on our faces we cast it away, all our body casts you away. We are not corpses; we are putting you to rights and shaving your hair, go away to your fellows.' We begin to get rid of the earth we had on our faces so that we may anoint ourselves again. In our lineage we eat only bean mash, not bananas and millet porridge, we differ in our rituals.

QUESTION: The sweeping of rubbish on to legs and the weeping?

KASITILE: This means: 'We begin to cast you off wholly, let all the ritual that is left come to us, we throw it away.' The measures of millet are to tell the shade that So-and-so has brought millet and is doing his ritual. 'Do not think he is angry with you,' we tell him, 'he has brought this millet.' The throwing of millet from the winnowing basket on to the participants' heads as they stand in a line outside means that we cast him away, we are taking him to the river—at the river we throw away the corpse. They throw away the leaves and the stem of bananas.

QUESTION: Hitting the heads with a banana sapling in the doorway?

KASITILE: They hit the participants on the head, that is the *ndwola* disease of the dead man,[1] we are setting them to rights.

QUESTION: The stem of bananas, hen, and bark-cloth?

KASITILE: The stem of bananas is the corpse, they leave it in the water with the leaves; the bark-cloth and hen are the shade which they bring into the house.

QUESTION: The circling with the pot and putting in of food?

KASITILE: This is the shade whom they bring into the house (*bikumbeka*) when they have brought him from the water. The banana flower they bury is the same as the leaf they wear, it is the corpse which they throw away in the water.

Yes, we separate the corpse and the shade with all our might, the earth we rub our bodies in is the corpse, we throw it into the water and the shade we bring back to the house. The eating of the bean mash on
[17] the wall (the old custom) and on the hearth (both old and contemporary) that is the shade in the house. He warms himself by the fire in the house, we pray to him. Putting food into the pot means: 'Leave our

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[1] Not clear to me.—M. W.

764 ●177 Then they explained to me that formerly it was forbidden to scrape bananas at a death, you eat them with the ash on, for if you scrape you will scrape your body also, that is, you will scratch and scratch. But now that custom is finished. Three men were scraping away.

784 Mwaikambo said: 'In all rituals it is forbidden to scrape bananas—in the puberty and twin rituals also.'

184 784 **Kasitile**: It is forbidden to scrape bananas only at a death ritual, not at other rituals. If you scrape bananas you scrape your own body. It is the corpse. We have died, we are the corpse. . . .

604 781 764 The mother's brother (*umwipwa*) hands bananas and meat over his shoulder to the children who are treated, then he goes off home and they go home without looking back at one another. If they do look back at one another the child will grow feeble and go mad. If the mother's brother does not come to cut the banana grove and do this, if the child sees others eating that banana it becomes feeble and goes mad. The banana and the meat are the filth which madmen take hold of, they are filth. Yes, it is like the banana which they eat at the pumpkin-seeds ritual.

Question: Why the mother's brother?

Kasitile: Who should give it to them? Their kinsman (*unkamu*) should give it to them, he who looks after everything for them.

ii. *Mwandisi's interpretation.*[1]

764 **Question**: What do you do in the death ritual, what does it mean?

Mwandisi: When a child has died I do not approach the women, my wives, until we have finished the ritual. On the night of the day we drink the beer then we come together. It is a ritual! Yes, the coming [833] together of man and woman is a ritual (*bo bunyago*). If we come together before the beer then we overstep our child, Lubabelo, he will be impotent and not beget children. No, his children are not relatives (*bo banda*) they are my comrades (*bobinangu*) but if Lubabelo forestalls (*ukukinda*) the ritual with his wife then he oversteps (*ukukinda*) his children. And when we have finished the ritual Lubabelo begins[2] and goes first to his wife. We follow him at our home. If we begin we would overstep him, it is taboo (*mwiko*). At the ritual of pumpkin-seeds, we drive away the shade, we say: 'Do not rise from the dead and come to us, go to the land of the shades, that we may bear and beget another child, you prevent us doing so!'

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[1] His son Lubabelo, who was with us during the earlier part of the conversation, left so that we could speak freely. There was no difficulty about Mwandisi's wife being present.

[2] Mwandisi was referring to a ritual performed on the death of his son Lubalelo's child.

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ritual is powerful. If you do not perform the ritual for your father or 764
perhaps that of your wife then you won't be a person, your body 775
comes to an end and you die, but you are present, you are still alive,
you do not die when the body comes to an end, you take faeces as in
the ritual. But when they bring millet and say: 'This is so-and-so's, and
this so-and-so's' (naming him whose ritual you have omitted) and
brew beer and drink it, then you die.

QUESTION: How do the dead appear to us?

ANSWER: They appear before our eyes at night. You dream and in the morning say: 'I was with the so-and-so's in the night, with the so-and-so's!

QUESTION: Where do you go (at death)?

ANSWER: When we die we go above. [177]

QUESTION: That's a new thing?

ANSWER: Yes, indeed, formerly we said we went below; our fathers and grandfathers said that. But we now say we go below to rot and stink only but since we look toward home when they bury us perhaps the heart (*indumbula*) goes above (*kumwanya*) and that is home. We have seen this in European times in books. No, I am not a Christian and I cannot read, I've just learnt this. . . .

KALUNDA (a doctor) AND MWAIJUMBA: The *ikipiki* medicine put into
the beer and lees at 'the shaving of the sprouting hair' is the same
medicine as that which we eat at the pumpkin-seed ritual. The *ikipiki*
of the death ritual and the puberty ritual and the birth ritual is one
and the same, but the medicine for twins is different. . . . There is one
ikipiki used in all the three rituals—puberty, birth, and death—but to
it is added another medicine which is different for each of the three.
Ikipiki is our kinship, it is our blood (*ikipiki bo bukamu bwetu, lyo ilopa*
lyetu); when my wife has borne a child and no one wipes its mouth with [851]
the *ikipiki* it means it is not my child, it is just a bastard from the
veld, it is no relative of mine but a stranger. In the puberty ritual it is
the same, we treat the girl with the *ikipiki* of her husband. She moves [881]
from our lineage, from that of her father, she is now a stranger, not
their relative (*ikusama nkikolo kyetu, kubaguise, mundu leleno, aka nkamu*
gwabo). When someone has died it is the same. We eat food together
with the deceased, the shade, and his blood. It is like the Swahili custom
of eating each other's blood to create kinship. It means: 'You were our [171]
kinsman from afore-time, but now it is finished, you are a stranger.'
But the medicine for the twin ritual is separate, it is quite different.

2. IN KUKWE COUNTRY

The Kukwe ritual of death differs in detail from that of Selya 764
and MuNgonde, but it is performed with the same overt purpose: 184
to drive away the dead from the bodies and dreams of the

764 prepared earlier) and ties a strip of medicated banana bark round the neck of each, and with these necklaces on they must sleep. In one lineage they take little horns and blow into them and walk round calling out: 'We are driving you away, you are a stranger to us, do not come in dreams repeatedly.'

Next morning sausages of millet porridge mixed with medicine are half-buried in the earth at the cross-roads—or somewhere on the pathway—and each participant in turn bends down and bites off a piece, leaving some in the ground. They take off their bark necklaces and throw them into the little hut, which is then destroyed. After they have bathed again the officiant strokes each one on the forehead with a razor.

768 When a married man has died the heir is formally recognized,
587 and the widows are asked whether they accept him as their husband, at some point during the ritual; when Mwaikambo's father died the recognition of the heir preceded the whole ritual; more often it follows it and there is a formal drinking of 'the beer of inheritance'. In any case the first intercourse between the heir and the widows is always delayed for some months and, until it has taken place, the widows may meet their relatives; after it each widow returns to the homestead of her father (or his heir) for the 'ritual of the gasping cough' (*ingotolo*). Old Fibombe, a Christian elder, described it vividly:

> 768 The parents of the girl brew beer and call her to the beer of *ingotolo*.
> ● 177 They also call their relatives. She brings a hoe or a goat (or now a cloth
> 587 or 1s.). First of all she lifts up the pot of beer into which an officiant has put powdered medicine (*imbondanya*) and takes a mouthful, stirring the rest, then she hands it to another participant and when he has taken a mouthful she spits out, then she stirs and hands it on, and when the next has taken a mouthful she spits, and so it continues until all present have done this. Nowadays people do not take the beer in their mouths, they simply stir and pass it on. Pride prevents them. They say people will laugh at them if they do the things of old. Time is passing and things are like *Mambo Leo* [the Swahili newspaper] now. All
> [184] pagans, however, still do this ritual in a modified form, only the Christians leave it undone.

768 This informant omitted two significant points in the ritual
587 which we saw for ourselves: the widow brings a spear belonging to her new husband and thrusts it into the earth outside her father's house. It stands beside the vessel of beer while her kinsmen drink until her brother plucks it out and takes it into the

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house. Then she goes in and steals a piece of firewood from the 768
loft[1] and runs off with it, laughing. The officiant pursues her and 587
makes her drop it and gives her medicine, while the company cry:
'A thief, a thief!' She takes the firewood back to her husband's
home. 'It is a sign that she has entered her father's house, just as
the spear is a sign that she has entered the house of another husband.' In rich families the new husband sends a bull which is [556]
killed and eaten at the ritual.

Our informants were agreed that 'there is no fear of the gasping
cough if a woman runs away from her husband and goes to a
lover', and in practice no ritual is performed when she visits her
father after divorce and re-marriage, but it is perhaps significant
that such a situation could scarcely have arisen in the past, since [586
divorce by agreement rarely, if ever, occurred. An adulterer fled, 177]
if he could, with his lover to another chiefdom, breaking off all [684]
relations with her kin.

(*b*) *The overt purpose and symbolism*

Now we turn to the Kukwe interpretation of events. Our two 115
principal informants here were Mwasalemba, an elderly pagan man, brother to the chief Porokoto, whose wife, Syungu, acted as officiant at rituals in the chief's family, and Kakune, a young doctor who had learnt the medicines from his mother. Mwasalemba was much more coherent than Syungu herself, and his interpretation was confirmed by Kakune and numerous other informants. Again I give the interpretation of the two principal informants without any editing other than placing consecutively statements made on different occasions.

i. *Mwasalemba's interpretation.* (Recorded by G. W. and translated 158
by him soon afterwards.)

Mwasalemba: Perhaps a youth, perhaps a girl, runs mad; he runs
about naked so that we say: 'He's mad, why doesn't he cover himself?'
He goes to the place of defaecation and takes filth and eats it: he goes
into people's houses and takes things, he might even take some things
from you, from a European, without fear; he knows not what he does.
Sometimes, after a visit to a doctor, he recovers altogether and never
has the fit again—that is the lesser kind of madness. But sometimes he 158
recovers and then the fit takes him again later—that is the more serious 757

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[1] The loft (*pijala*) consists of horizontal beams running at wall level across a portion [422
of the hut. Here every married woman keeps a supply of dry firewood. It is her private
store-place which may not be touched without her permission. 417]

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa
Selya, Mu Ngonde

maids and always carries a mat or cloth to screen her face from 881 her father and his contemporaries, her father's full sisters, her older brothers,[1] and her 'mothers-in-law' (*abakamwana*).[2] These she must fear and respect (*ukutila*) and so avoid. Her father-in-law and his brothers she avoids altogether from the time of her engagement, or at least after she has reached the age of 8 or 9. Her companions do not *ukutila* with her, though those of them who are already betrothed will, of course, avoid their own fathers-in-law.

During the period of seclusion the girls have two specific tasks: to weave the fine mats used as beds, and to fetch firewood. Every [285] bride should take to her husband's home at least one fine mat (*ubunyasa*) which she has made herself, as well as several coarse ones (*imitefu*),[3] and weaving a fine mat is a lengthy task, occupying a skilful woman a month. Each girl weaves for herself, but the firewood that each must fetch is stacked in the bride's mother's loft. The bride also occupies herself hammering out bark-cloth, [287] pleating it for the strip worn between the legs, and decorating bark-cloth belts (*vide* plate 5), so that she may have the fresh ones required during the ritual, and a supply to take with her to her husband's; but this work is not emphasized as an obligation: rather it is a recreation. Women take great pride in the decoration [531] of their belts—we watched several brides making them and handing them round for the admiration of their fellows. The maids may work in the fields if required to do so, but the bride herself does not, and 'she gets fat because she does not have much work to do'. The whole ritual normally lasts about three months, but if, for some reason such as a pressing need to go out to work, the husband is in a hurry for its completion, various acts may be telescoped. The time-table depends primarily on when the marriage-cattle and food for the various feasts are ready.

From the time of first menstruation until she does it ritually, a 881
bride should neither wash nor oil herself. The prohibition is felt 515
to be a very onerous one and some girls now break it, but women 177
said 'in the old days we did not wash'. 'Girls nowadays are more cunning. We were afraid.'

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[1] Some informants denied that she avoided father's sisters or brothers. Others insisted that she must avoid them because 'brothers are fathers, and father's full sisters are father'. [184]

[2] i.e. her husband's own mother and other women he calls mother. In this account the plural 'mothers' indicates own and classificatory mothers. [601]

[3] Nyakyusa beds are made of layers of mats laid on rollers between two logs at head and foot. One chief's bed we noted was made up of sixty-eight mats. [352]

Selyn, Mu Ngonde

the groom's mothers began to dance again. They approached the 881
group of girls and the groom's own mother took the mat off the 584
kneeling bride and spread a large scarlet cloth over her. Then she lifted her on to her shoulders and danced with her. The two parties coalesced and danced together, singing the ritual song *Tukulelela akela* (We sing a dirge). Everyone was smiling and joyful despite the song. By 3.40 the dancing was over and a large mat was spread for the 'mothers-in-law' to sit down in the shade. The bride knelt again with bent head covered by her mat and surrounded by her maids.

At this point Mwaihojo, her father, began scolding angrily because the groom's party had not brought a bull. 'Always when people come to marry my daughters they bring a bull, always. It looks as if the girl had been to visit her husband and you had found fault with her and did not like her.' The groom's mothers replied: 'We are poor.'

Mwaihojo: 'How can you say you are poor? You can find the marriage-cattle, you say. Why didn't you bring some of them? Then I would have killed one to eat now. See, I have killed a bull already. If I had known that you were not going to bring one I'd have killed another.'

The groom's mothers sat with downcast heads. For a com- 881
moner's daughter bananas and milk are adequate for the *uk-* 584
wingesia feast, but a chief has the right to expect a bull. 643

Presently the groom's own mother and one of her companions 881
entered Kyobwe's hut to roast bananas and grind some of the 584
bark of a tree they had brought for medicine. The powder was put into a small calabash with water. The bride knelt in the doorway of Kyobwe's hut and, as her mother-in-law poured out the medicated water, she washed her hands and wrists and mouth in it. The bride's half-brother, a lad of 15 or 16 years, was washed also, standing by the doorway of Kyobwe's hut, though he was most reluctant to co-operate. He kept looking towards his elder brother Lazarus, a Christian, and did not submit until Lazarus said: 'All right, go ahead!' Kyobwe, seeing his reluctance, said: 'You need
not wash if you don't wish to, it doesn't matter. Perhaps we'll [177]
leave it out as it's European times now.' Then finally she said: 'Well, just hold out one hand,' and she washed it. Had the bride been the eldest daughter of either of her father's two senior wives he would have washed in place of her brother, and had her own mother not been divorced she would have washed also.

Kukwe

585 ried to the stream, runs in and out under the dripping water, is
881 anointed with red ointment, shares the mash of beans and bananas,
and drinks medicated beer with her from the same calabash. In
● [77] the old days it was taboo for either bride or groom to set foot to the
ground on their way to the stream.

For a senior wife, the mother-in-law moulds hearth-bricks with powdered medicine, and sets them up in the groom's hut. A mother goes through the ritual with her eldest daughter if the daughter is her first-born, or with her senior daughter-in-law if her eldest child is a boy. 'If they do not do this they go mad.'

As in Selya, an admonition of the bride by her 'mothers', in the presence of her in-laws, concludes the full 'bringing out' ritual. We never heard it in Kukwe country, but the points mentioned by informants were similar to those emphasized in Selya. Kajinga, Porokoto's second wife, summed up the teaching thus:

> Obey your husband when he calls you. Fetch water and wood. Don't say: 'First let me fetch firewood' if your husband wants you to do something else. Do what your husband says first, then to-morrow go for wood. It is forbidden to refuse when your husband wants to sleep with you. In the morning get up and wash. Wash first, then light the fire and give your husband food. Don't say: 'There isn't any food.'

585 Next day, on her return home, the bride is given presents by the
881 people of her home village (*ukugwa*), her father making the first
431 gift. The groom brings the bull of puberty on which all the
'mothers' feast, but the meat from the top of the right foreleg (*ijamapa*) is reserved for the bride's own parents who sing as they eat it:

Kyatile, Kyatile, Kyatipwe

Some days later a party of 'mothers' takes her formally to her husband's house (*ukumbeka*) with gifts of beer and food and firewood, and are feasted by the groom's people and given chickens and shillings.

5[illegible] When she is finally living with her husband, before she can visit
881 or greet her parents, the bride must put milk and a fowl (some use
783 a live fowl, others a cooked one) under her bed at night. After
having had intercourse with her husband 'she takes the fowl and milk and gives them to her parents with the filth of intercourse still on her. This is called the *ilibuko*. If she does not do this her mother will fall ill and have diarrhœa.' 'When they take the food

585 881 phatic that 'if the bride does not wash with powdered medicine she will go mad and she will bury children'.

Syungu, the officiant for all the rituals in Porokoto's lineage, said:

> [158] If a girl goes mad, we say, if we have not treated her: 'We neglected the ritual, let us treat her.' She runs about aimlessly and makes bundles of filth. But if we have treated her we say: 'Perhaps Kyala has gone away from me. See! Nothing has been omitted, we have treated her.' And if she does not bear a child at her husband's her in-laws say to her: 'Did your father and mother not treat you?'
>
> [753] Mungasalwa (a middle-aged pagan): It is said that if she eats food with her fellows who sleep with their husbands they will harm (overstep) her, and she has diarrhœa. When she has been given powdered medicine, then she eats with them. . . . To lie on powdered medicine which has been sprinkled on the ground is to give the bride weight (*ubusito*), because if it is not done those who are with their husbands will overstep her and she will have diarrhœa.
>
> ●[177] Porokoto's Wives: In the old days we put medicine in her porridge so that she would not run away from her husband . . . not now. It's European times now.
>
> [882] Question: In Selya it is said that if she is not given powdered medicine she will be proud.
>
> Wives: Yes, here too. And if the girl is proud we beat her.
>
> Mungasalwa: Washing and catching in her hands the water that falls from her husband's hands has two meanings. In some families the husband and wife wash separately, in others they wash together. In either case the first meaning is present, in the second both meanings. [753] It is said that when someone has not washed in the puberty ritual his or her children will die, for that water (with which he neglected to wash) will enter the child's stomach and kill it. The water is in the child's stomach but its symptoms are those of diarrhœa. The nubile girl catching water in her hands teaches us that the woman will receive [833] everything. The man is like the upper grindstone, the woman like the nether grindstone (we speak of intercourse), which means that the women receives the semen which comes from the man.
>
> Making fire by friction is a symbol of procreation.[1] If the fire does not kindle we say the couple are sterile. Two fire-sticks are used, one is the man the other the woman, and the fire is the child. The sawdust made by the rubbing is the semen.
>
> Kajinga: If the fire does not come the man is sterile and the girl will quarrel with her husband and perhaps run away. It does not mean she will be barren with other men.

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[1] *Ukupegesa*: to make fire by friction; *ukwipegesa*: to masturbate.

844 Traditionally, no man entered the confinement hut in which a woman remained ● [177] until the cord had dropped off the new-born child and she had purified herself, and she did not normally resume cooking for her husband for some weeks; but these taboos are less strictly observed than formerly, partly, our informants insisted, because the country has been pacified and men do not fear to die in battle if they neglect them.

The obvious interpretation here is that a man is felt to partake of the weakness of a menstruating or confined woman if he comes into association with her. 'His legs become swollen and painful and he is very tired'; 'strength leaves him'; 'he has no speed in running'; 'his belly aches and his body grows red'. . . . The picture is surely one of a *woman's* physical weakness: a man is identified with his wife during pregnancy, observing the taboos she observes, and during menstruation and confinement he must isolate himself as far as possible from her lest he share her weakness; but none of our informants make a connection between the weakness of the woman and the weakness of the man—the interpretation is ours. The Nyakyusa were obsessed with the idea of 'filth' emanating from menstruation and childbirth; indeed, the feeling that women, by reason of their physiology and the taboo on washing during menstruation, are dirty, is cited by men as one of the reasons for not eating with them or sitting to chat with them. Only in this limited sense is the conception of ritual impurity linked with social [171 783] status. Here the contrast with a Hindu society, in which states of ritual impurity (basically very similar to those of the Nyakyusa) are linked with caste differences, is marked.[1]

842 The second general conception underlying the taboos of procreation is that of *ubusito*, heaviness, a condition associated with sexual intercourse, pregnancy, the python of witchcraft, and medicines.[2] A 'heavy' (*nsito*) person is dangerous to an 'empty' (*bwasi*) one, hence women sleeping with their husbands, and pregnant women avoid mothers with infants and brides in seclusion, who are 'empty'; and the 'empty' are treated to prevent diarrhœa and give them weight. Diarrhœa and 'emptiness' are closely associated.

842 789 The great specific against 'emptiness' is *ikipiki* medicine, used in the puberty, birth, and death rituals, and even used to protect cattle against a menstruating woman. 'If a woman is the only wife

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[1] cf. M. N. Srinivas, *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India* (1952).

[2] cf. Monica Wilson, *Good Company*, p. 95.

child, the beauty of the body, the blackness, has not yet come. It's 846 dirty (*nyali*); even after it's come out it's dirty.' 'The confinement [177] is not now feared by men, they just go in, because European times have come. There is no war now, but long ago they feared to enter, they feared to see the hair and the navel cord. They said: "We will get weary in the legs." ' 'When they went to war their legs became tied up.' During her seclusion the mother eats alone off leaves or out of special dishes, and even after she comes out of the hut she is careful not to eat with women who are 'heavy', or allow her dishes to be used by men. She has her own water-pot and calabash cup for several months.

To the Nyakyusa, the most dangerous point in the confinement is the loosening of the cord, and the baby is watched, day and night, to make sure that the cord does not fall between its mother's legs (*mmago*) for if that happens it is believed that the child will be sterile. As soon as the cord is safely off, mother and child are washed and shaved with *ikipiki* medicine 'to get rid of the filth', and anointed with ointment. They are given a millet porridge mixed with *ikipiki* which has been buried after dark at a cross- [789] roads and left overnight. 'They say people will overstep the child. If they have not made porridge for him he will have diarrhœa.' The porridge is administered to the infant in the doorway of the hut. Then 'they throw out the rubbish (*ilindu*)', the litter is burnt, the hut smeared, and mother and child 'come out'. In some families the husband kills a bull, especially to make a carrying skin for the baby, but whether he kills specially or not the baby is slung in a skin which conceals it from men.

Angombwike made it perfectly clear that the use of *ikipiki* in the 846 ritual of birth has a double significance: it is to 'close up' the 789 bowels of the child and the womb of the woman, and it is to acknowledge kinship between the mother and the new-born baby on the one hand, and the father's lineage on the other.

> When a child is in the belly it is said that 'it's a person (*mundu*, i.e. a non-relative)'. When it is newly-born and has not yet eaten the *ikipiki* it is called *kanenelo*, which means that it is not yet our relative, we do not know it. The child is called *kanenelo* until the umbilical cord falls off and it eats the *ikipiki*, and comes out of the house. If an infant (*kanenelo*) dies in the house people do not mourn, they just say: 'The woman had a miscarriage.' They come to her and say: 'Have you recovered?' They do not say a child has died, and they don't say anything to relatives at a distance. As for the ritual, the mother undergoes a ritual alone, or with

him. They fear that if heavy ones come and speak, those who are preg- 789
nant, the child will suffer, it will become weak and exhausted on the 846
litter, and will have constant diarrhœa. So they go to the cross-roads and mix millet flour and powdered *ikipiki* with the feather of a chicken, they give the child some in his mouth to make the motions firm, and close the bowels. They do this[1] at the cross-roads that those who pass may step over it and take the disease away. That medicine closes the bowel, it saves the stomach and bowel when heavy ones come, those who are pregnant. If we do not treat it the child becomes exhausted with diarrhœa, though the mother is all right.

It is taboo to give birth in the house, a woman bears a child outside 844
on a pile of leaves; when she has borne the child they sprinkle powdered *ikipiki* on those leaves, but if I, the father, am angry about the child I refuse the *ikipiki*, saying: 'It's not my child, it's a bastard.' That is of old though. Now, in European times, they treat all children. Yes, [177] ●
now all are my children; formerly there were bastards. The *ikipiki* is our blood, it is kept in the senior wife's house.

There was some disagreement on this point. Nsyani, an elderly 848
man who was already married before Europeans came to the country, when asked: 'Do you perform rituals for bastards?' replied: 'Yes, they are born with[2] my cattle (*Bapapigwe munombe syangu*).' Four other men who discussed the matter together, agreed that—

> When a woman has borne an illegitimate child we know that the child is the child of her husband because it was born with his cattle (*munombe syake*). Whether the child is a boy or a girl, whether the genitor is known or unknown, and whether he has paid damages or not, the children belong to the woman's lord (*mwene nkikulu*). When an illegitimate child is born to an unmarried girl her fathers perform the ritual, for that 'man of the long grass' is like a bull. For an illegitimate child born to a married woman the rituals are performed by the husband, for the 'man of the long grass' is like a bull or a cock. Who is going to give a calf to a man alone, the bull who begot it?

But Lyandileko who, as a doctor and a grandmother, was intimately concerned in such matters, insisted:

> If a woman has committed adultery and we do not know the man, we give her earth; it's just rubbish. If I give her medicine she and the child will die. If she has borne the child in the long grass and her father refuses to let her enter the house, non-relatives give it to her. If I, the mother, am there I give her this earth [touching the ground].

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[1] The baby is not taken to the crossroads, only the *ikipiki* and millet flour.

[2] Literally *within*.

forty-five to come and eat. 'Yesterday we just conversed, you did 845
not eat. Now we have come to fetch you.' The mother and infants
were in the little hut. Mwakobela was sitting and eating with us.
They explained that of old he would not have done so. 'The people 845 177
in the old days were greatly afraid—the father of twins did not meet and converse with other people, no, they were much afraid. He waited in the bananas. But since the Europeans came we do not fear. The Europeans took the twins in their arms and said: "Don't be afraid." In the old days the father of twins would take a spear and shield and dance the war-dance, and cry the war-cry, but we have dropped this custom nowadays.'

May 14

We visited Mwakobela and found him sitting alone making a 845
hoe-handle. His wife was in the hut with the infants, attended by her mother.

May 22

We found Mwakobela hoeing a garden for beans. He told us that the elder of the twins had died two nights ago and had been buried early yesterday morning. . . .

No one came to the infant's burial; we buried him ourselves. But had [766]
he been a big child then people would have come. The doctor has not come yet [for the induction]. I have not got the millet yet.

July 7

ii. *The induction* (*ukwingisia*)

We arrived about 11 a.m. and found Mwakobela and his brother sitting outside the house with several guests. They were cutting a hide to make thongs for tying up cattle. By noon there were present twelve men, twenty-two married women, three adolescent girls, six 'daughters-in-law' sitting apart, and a crowd of children.[1] The doctor, a middle-aged woman and a distant connection of Mwakobela, arrived about noon. With the help of Mwakobela's wives she built a fire outside and cooked a pot of medicines. The women sat round this fire chatting; the little girls built themselves a separate fire, and the small boys yet another. Tiny children were with their mothers. At two-fifteen the doctor started the washing. She took a little powdered medicine from a bamboo flask and put it into a calabash of cold water. She made

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[1] The identity and kinship connections of those who participated are discussed in Chapter VIII.

845 freshly shaved and anointed; the mother and child were also
302 rouged, and both husband and wife had on new cloths. The women explained: 'The filth is finished now', and, in answer to a question about why they shaved, they replied: 'We throw away the hair in the long grass because it is filthy.' The little girls picked up scraps of hair carefully and disposed of it in the long grass. Mwaiteteja (brother of Mwakobela) said of the shaving:

> All the children, Mwakobela's and mine, boys and girls, and our wives, shave. I, Mwaiteteja, do not. Mwakobela shaved last night. At an ordinary birth only the mother shaves. Mwanyilu and other grandsons of Mwaipopo are 'just people' [i.e. not relatives for this purpose] and do not shave, but they are treated with the hot medicines.
>
> MWANYOSO: The anointing is part of the ritual. The shaving and anointing are to show that the ritual is over. Since the birth of the twins neither the women nor the children have shaved or anointed themselves, nor we men either, but we don't anoint ourselves very much anyway. We shall all shave to-day or to-morrow, but I have shaved already because of the funeral ritual of Mwakisisi which took place two days ago.

845 Husband and wife in the hut spoke in whispers, and not even the doctor entered: 'They fear the legs.'

The doctor ranged everyone in a rough circle and she and her assistant went round smearing the forehead of each with the powder mixed with ointment. The circle soon broke up and people came up to her of their own accord to be smeared. She just dabbed a line on the forehead of each.

Then the banana suckers were cut and frayed at the end. A regular circle was formed. Mwakobela rushed out of the hut (washed, shaved and wearing a new cloth), seized two of the suckers and dipped them in the hot medicine, and splashed it on to the circle. The people yelled and ran away, only to return. He splashed them thus two or three times and then returned to the hut. The doctor continued the splashing.

Then Mwanyoso went up to the hut with a pruning hook and cut it open, crying: 'War has come!' Mwakobela and his wife and the child rushed out 'in the direction of Mwaijonga's place' [Mwakobela's father's home], followed by the whole crowd shouting: 'We are pure (*Tuli balu*).' They ran thirty or forty yards only
● [177] and came back laughing and talking. Mwakobela said: 'In the old days I'd have taken a spear and shield and danced, alone!'

Two banana leaves were spread on the ground and the doctor

The *ilibalaga* is to make the mother's relatives one blood with 845 the daughter's children. 'The food which each of the parents brings to relatives is the blood of the lineage (*lyo ilopa lya kikolo kyabo*) that they may have one body (*ukuti baje mbili gumo*). They do not look at one another when they take the *ilibalaga* because the blood [of the two lineages] has not yet met.'

The statements of two doctors, the one from Selya and the other a Kukwe, throw a little more light on the symbolism of the various actions. Mwakionde (of Selya) replied to a question about why the parents of twins only eat the middle bananas in a bunch:

> Those of the sides belong to Kyala, because the twin was with Kyala; Kyala brooded over him, he came to them and gave them two children. After two days they throw away those bananas on the side, they throw them behind the huts, where they throw the rubbish of twins. . . . That means: may Mbasi be driven away when he comes to look at the children, may he be driven away to the rubbish heap behind the huts.
>
> QUESTION: Why are the parents not allowed to call out?
>
> MWAKIONDE: When we give each other medicines to drink? Since you have borne twins we do not meet one another. It's taboo to call out.
>
> QUESTION: Snatching food from one another?
>
> MWAKIONDE: They spread meat and cooked bananas on leaves of plantain and sweet banana. The doctor sprinkles powdered medicine, then we all snatch. Then the doctor gathers up the rubbish (*iminda*), those leaves, and throws them away behind the huts.
>
> QUESTION: But why the snatching?
>
> MWAKIONDE: If we do not snatch from one another our legs swell.
>
> QUESTION: The running to the pasture?
>
> MWAKIONDE: I myself have borne twins, you are my relative. When they have shaved my hair in the house, when you come with a shield to the doorway, 'Come out, Mwakionde,' you cry. 'War has come!' Then I go out. You give me the shield at the doorway. I run off with it. Another comes and snatches it, and another and another. It's to help the legs. Women do it afterwards, and then cry the war-cry. If I just meet a twin then Mbasi is angry and says: 'Why do you kill your fellow by just meeting him?' I am ill, I have diarrhœa, my legs swell, and my face swells, but sometimes the sickness returns to the parent of twins and he himself is ill.
>
> KAKUNE (a Kukwe): In European times we do not fear; we drink [177] ● medicine, that is all; but of old we feared very much. At the coming out 845 (*ukusoka*) beer is brewed and the people and relatives drink it, and then 833 in the night the man and wife, secluded in the hut, have intercourse,

795 the case of a Christian who had stayed away from a ritual in his
184 family and 'as soon as he met his relatives he fell sick and coughed
788 like an animal. So they got some of the lees of the beer and gave
it to him and he recovered.' A number of Christian kinsmen,
leaders in the Church, did not come to the gasping-cough ritual
which we attended, but others did come and sipped the beer, or
had the lees sent to them at their homes. In the ritual for protec-
tion against sorcery which we watched a Christian brother and
his wife took part.

And some Christians, though they deny the necessity of many
of the pagan rituals for themselves as Christians, still believe them
to be necessary to their pagan kinsmen. Hence the anomalous (and
to the missionaries the highly unorthodox) position of a woman
professing Christianity and acting as officiant in a pagan ritual, as
did N. in the death ritual for Kalata's mother (p. 239). N., it
will be remembered, came by night. The officiant who performed
the ritual for Mwakobela's twins was under instruction as a
Christian and was proposing to hand on her medicines to he
daughter, a pagan, when she herself was received into the Church.
She explained this when Mwakobela (her patient) asked her
'And what shall we do for twin medicine when you become
Christian?' And we had little doubt that she believed in th
efficacy of her medicine for pagans.

Though Christians cannot go through pagan rituals as prin
cipals they do not withdraw altogether: they often help thei
pagan neighbours as grave-diggers at a funeral and in the provi
sion of food for guests at funerals and marriages; and the youn
men and girls may dance as a separate group, singing their ow
[578] songs or hymns and ignoring the drums. Sometimes acute rivalr
between the two groups of dancers is apparent.

771 The effect of Christian teaching on pagan ritual is not limite
● 177 to the partial withdrawal of professing Christians. In those village
most influenced by missions, such as Ilolo, near Rungwe, there i
considerable scepticism among pagans, and many of them curta
the rituals in their families, or do not attend them. The Christia
view is that 'the pagans see that the Christians disregard th
rituals and nothing happens to them, so they begin to ignore the
too'. 'Pagans fear much less than they used to do.'

177 Men who are in European employment either inside or outsid
404 the district cannot attend all the rituals. Their case is partiall
met by keeping the lees of the ritual beer with which to treat the

on their return home, but the general effect of modern conditions /787 is that the solidarity of the kinship group expressed in gatherings 464 at rituals is weakened. These changes will be discussed at length in the volume on the communal rituals after the differences between the pagan and Christian conceptions of God have been analysed.

(*c*) *The exchange of gifts*

All the family rituals are occasions for the exchange of gifts 431 which pass primarily between lineages linked by marriage. The exchanges at different rituals are connected, and acceptance of a gift at a marriage may necessitate a return gift at a funeral. Thus the groom gives cattle for his bride at the marriage and at a funeral sons-in-law and fathers-in-law must bring cattle to kill so that they may accompany the deceased, and these are counted among the marriage-cattle given or returned. They may be kept and not killed if there are sufficient cattle to kill otherwise, but they must be offered. The obligation of affines to 'bury one another' by providing cattle for each other's funerals is even mentioned in the marriage negotiations. If a bride is not sent to replace a dead woman, marriage-cattle must be returned by her father, or at least one beast representing 'a mother to draw water for you'. So strong is the feeling that acceptance of a gift implies the obligation to make a return, that cattle offered for a marriage or funeral feast may be refused, on the ground that the family concerned do not wish to commit themselves to returning them. Angombwike described how he sweated and could eat little of a very lavish marriage feast, at which he acted as the groom's 'go-between', for he was wondering how he could make adequate return (cf. p. 253).

The greatest gifts are cattle; but fowls, cloth, beer, curds, bananas, pots, mats, firewood, ointment, cooked food and, nowadays, cash play a subsidiary part. At a funeral affines of the dead man who have no cattle, affines of the 'owner of the funeral', and close friends bring cloths. After the consummation of a marriage, or the inheritance of a widow, the new husband must give his wife a fowl, or meat, or cash representing a fowl, to take to her parents, and when she bears a child he sends another fowl. The wife's people, for their part, bring beer, ointment, firewood, mats, pots, and bananas when they take a bride or young mother back to her husband. There are also three or four exchanges of feasts

775 and appearance—the mind of a child is tenacious. If one comes whom
828 I never knew, I note his appearance in the dream and next day I tell
my friends and relatives about it. Then perhaps an old woman, my
grandmother, will say: 'That is how So-and-so used to look.' Perhaps I
dream of someone wearing brass body-rings, with a plume nodding on
his head. Then the older ones know him and tell me it is So-and-so.
In the old days, in the days of our mothers, if we dreamed of eating
food like this my relatives would say: 'They have come to fetch him;
he will get disease and die soon; he has eaten the food of the shades.'
775 But in European times now it is different. . . . Our mothers fear such
828 dreams; there is a medicine to put on the walls. If I always dream like
●177 this they bring it and say: 'It's forbidden to dream of the shades.'

QUESTION: And now?

KITITU: Now if dreams come true we say that the man who had dreamed is a prophet.

828 QUESTION: Are all dreams pregnant with trouble?

KITITU: Yes, dreams usually mean trouble. Suppose I love a girl and want to marry her, and then I dream of marriage, of having the cattle and going and being accepted by her fathers who are all present [in the dream], then I rejoice and I hope.[1] Then I begin to think of going to earn the cattle, and I go to work and come back with three or four cattle and go to hand over the marriage-cattle. All ends happily, but it might not. Perhaps they will accept me, perhaps not.

At work I dream that a sister has died, and I find it is true, then I think other dreams will be true. . . . I fear that perhaps my death is near. I go to a doctor and say I want a medicine, he gives me some to put under my head and sleep on. He grinds a medicine and tell me to sprinkle it in the room.

775 It is generally agreed that dreams of the dead are not welcomed:

828 If I speak of the recently dead others will say: 'Don't speak of them, they are dead.' Then I take a coal from the fire and say: 'Do not come in dreams.' If the shade comes it always means trouble.

And the only occasions of prayer to the shades are when men are in trouble and anticipate misfortune.

We never pray except when there is trouble. No, we never pray to give thanks. Why should we? There is nothing to grumble at!

673 (*c*) *Belief and behaviour*

753 In the Nyakyusa view there is a direct and immediate link be-
777 tween misfortune and wrong-doing. When illness befalls a man,

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[1] Kititu's father delayed long in providing him with marriage-cattle. The following year he eloped with a girl.

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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Selya
Kukwe

764 A mash made of beans, lentils and pumpkin-seeds was salted, to be eaten with millet porridge; one unsalted was prepared to be eaten with bananas. Each principal then washed again with water and powdered medicine at the doorway. The unsalted mash and bananas were handed to each of the principals to eat. The salted mash and porridge (in one ball) was placed on one of the hearth-bricks and each one came and stooped and bit (as with the bananas before outside), then took [77] away the mouthful to eat. 'We used to put it up on the wall, we have abandoned the custom nowadays.' Mpogo begged for 'only a little'. Finally, each principal sat in the doorway and the officiant smeared a cross on his head with a paste of millet flour (previously ground on the bark-cloth) and water.

It was 6 p.m., the sun sinking, as I left.

The kinsmen present are marked on the genealogy on p. 273. There were also three neighbours one of whom was a younger full brother of the village headman, Mwambuputa. The headman was not there himself.

(b) Farewell to Kalata's mother (Kukwe)

Record of G. W. 6/11/36

Kalata's mother died on Monday evening, November 2, and was buried the next day.

KALATA: They will perform the ritual on me and my younger brother and on my son; if we had a sister alive they would do it for her too, but we have none. . . . The officiant is Sijele, wife of Mwainombola. He is a relative of ours, our mothers avoided him. He was their 'father-in-law'. . . . My father is already dead.

[808] A young man present had gone for the *ikipiki* medicine to wash with and brought back a plant, *nyasati*, but the officiant (Sijele) had seen it and gone for another, saying 'that is the *ikipiki* of the Sangu'. However, two older men and the dead woman's younger sister disagreed with her and said *nyasati* was right.

There were present one classificatory father of Kalata with a small son, Kalata's own small son, Kalata's younger brother, Kalata himself, a young man *untani* to Kalata (son of the dead woman's brother) and a small son; the wife and the sister of the *untani*, a younger sister of the dead woman, and another young woman, all with mourning belts tied round them. A fifth young woman had no belt.

The sister's daughter began to grind millet. A young woman went off to look for medicines for sweeping out the rubbish (*iminda*). Everyone gave her advice as to where to find them. Sijele came in with a bunch of twigs for sweeping, and a separate one for washing. There was more discussion of *nyasati*. Sijele said that *nyasati* was for bathing with after the burial, not for washing with now.

A young woman began to clear the rubbish (*ukusanya iminda*) with the younger half-brother, Mwaisalwa. The dead woman is a wife of Mwalemba (Kanjesi) another half-brother. 764 184 Kanjesi was an old inhabitant of this village but he moved to Masebe. His wife was on a visit to her 'fathers' at Mwakalobo's place in the hills. She went to a funeral there and fell sick and died there yesterday. The corpse was brought here this morning. It is now 10 a.m. and the grave is half-dug. The owner of the homestead, Mwampiki II (Mwaisalwa), is not here, he is sick at Masoko where he had gone for a case. The husband is not yet here either; they have sent for him to Masebe. The dead woman's elder sister and co-wife is here, and their mother.

They went to fetch a doctor to perform an autopsy, offering him [763 20 cents, but came back without him. 'He refused,' they said. 'Well 435] then,' said Kakuju, 'take him a cloth, doctors do not agree to come for just a little.' So they took him a cloth.

Kakuju told the women to come out of the house as it was too small to hold them all. The corpse was carried out into the shade of an *unsyungati* tree. All the women gathered round wailing, about seventy of them, and about twenty men.

No cows have been killed yet as neither the husband nor Mwampiki II are here. No drums are here yet either. The grave was finished about 11 a.m. I asked Kakuju about dancing at death. He agreed that in the [177] old days they had only danced the war-dance. 'That was our old custom. Formerly we fought and killed people—the men of Mwangomo (another chief) who came to the funeral!' Mwambuga (the husband of the dead woman's husband's sister), who had been quite cheerful heretofore, suddenly began weeping and crying. He walked over to the women and joined in the wailing. Some small and naked children started climbing joyfully on the piled-up earth from the grave.

Now it is noon and there are thirty-five to forty men present and ninety to one hundred women. A doctor has agreed to come (to perform the autopsy) but has not yet arrived. Although the corpse was outside male mourners went into the house on their arrival to weep. An older woman got up and led a dirge. I heard her say a number of names, among which 'Mwampiki' was distinguishable. Clapping followed her words. Often she just called the war-cry (*akalala*). The others wailed and joined in the war-cry. She accompanied her wailing with rhythmic movements of the body and arms. After a time she sat down but continued to lead the wailing.

Mwakalabela (Mbalakatela) arrived with a cow. His daughter is married to young Mwaijumba, the son of Mwampiki. The autopsy followed (for description see *Good Company*, pp. 247–9).

17/3/37

Angombwike told me at breakfast that now Mwampiki himself was dead. He died yesterday at Masoko and was carried here last night.

Farewell to Mwampiki 2/4/37

764 Women began to wail about 9 a.m. I saw some arrive with bananas. 184 They stopped wailing after ten minutes or so. Imilanwa (Mwaisalwa) was present. Mwaijumba had not yet come. I met Kakuju on the way. He had not yet been told of the ritual. Mbapa and Maleja (widows of Mwalingo) did most of the work, with Ijumba, widow of Mwampiki. Isalwa sat near and watched while Maleja ground up the ointment. Seeds for making ointment were put on the fire. This was the ointment for anointing oneself in the ritual. Beans were brought in a flat basket. 'We mourn', they said, 'with bean mash and the meat of a cow.'

There was some discussion about killing the cow and a dispute between Imilanwa and Simeni. Just as the cow was about to be killed a woman came and made them bring it to the side of the swept court [262] away from the graves. 'If you kill it near the father-in-law's grave the wives will fear to eat the meat.' The cow was killed by Imilanwa. He then called the men of the family to discuss whether or not they should kill a bull also. One had been sent by the Chief Mwaipopo who is 'our son-in-law. He married a daughter of Maleja'. Imilanwa said: 'Let us kill it,' and they agreed. Only thirteen men were present so far.

[171 The meat from the fork of the right foreleg (*ija mmapa*) was taken to 177] eat with the mash. This is a Sangu not a Nyakyusa custom. The men of the family follow the Sangu custom. The women, daughters of Sangu, do likewise, and the women who are wives of Sangu, but the children of daughters who are married to Nyakyusa men from Selya do the Selya custom. If the daughter of a Sangu marries a Selya man then, if her father dies, she does the Sangu ritual at his place, but if her husband dies she does the Selya ritual at his place even if she has borne him no children, and even if she is herself a child or an infant who has not yet been to him. But her children always do the Selya ritual both at their father's home and at their mother's.

The burying of the banana flower and rubbing in earth is a Selya custom and is only done by the children of Selya men. I saw five or six children do it. Then more children came to rub in earth. One was under instruction at the mission. The women told him to rub himself but Mwaijumba broke in: 'If he is a Christian he ought not to perform the ritual.' 'He's under instruction.' 'Very well, he does not perform the ritual, for a Christian should not have two gods (*ba Kyala babili*).' The bull was killed a little way off among the bananas. Mwaijumba explained: 'It is just for meat, it's not for the ritual, the further off one. Christians will eat it.'

Shaving of the sprouting hair *Record of Mwaikambo, 22/4/37*

First the men and women began drinking beer separately. Then they began the ritual. They went to the grave with beer in a small calabash.

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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Ndali

765 they seek two or three officiants, and they build a temporary hut behind the living huts where they strain three pots of beer, which they call 'the beer of the shades'. These officiants do not bathe their bodies because they say: 'Let us be with the shade when we make the beer (*tujege nagwe unsyuka bo tukukomba ubwalwa*).' The rest of the beer is strained in the house.

When they have brewed it they take one potful from the temporary hut and pour the contents on top of the grave; then they dig a hole on the grave and place in it a little pot of beer. What is left in these two pots they drink, together with the rest of the beer, and there is much drumming.

766 After a long time has passed, perhaps two years, if there has been sickness in the home, they think that the deceased is making them giddy, is causing them to be ill. So they dig up the corpse and take all the bones and finger and toe nails. If one is left the sickness is not cured. When Mulape, the grandchild of Mwakafunga, was ill they dug up the corpse and the illness ceased very quickly. They pile up the bones which have been dug up.

III. MARRIAGE NEGOTIATIONS AND GIFTS

584 ANGOMBWIKE: One of our comrades in Kabembe heard that there was an unmarried girl at the Chief Mwasumbwe's, so one Monday he said to three of us: 'Don't go away, friends, we are going to woo the chief's daughter at Mwasumbwe's.' So we put on our best clothes, those we wear to church, and we went to the home of the father of the girl. He was the younger brother of the Chief Mwasumbwe by the same mother, and he told us: 'I am not the father (*ugwise*). She is my own child, but the father is the chief. Go to him' [i.e. authority over his daughter rested with his elder brother]. The girl had reached puberty. Someone else had married her, but her father had received only one cow, so the elder brother, the chief, was angry and took away the girl from her husband. My friend had never met her, never. He had just heard that there was an unmarried girl at that place, because the custom of making love to girls in the long grass is not a traditional one: a girl used to stay at her father's house. A young man went to the father before he spoke with the girl; he never spoke to her in secret. Then the father would send the girl to speak with the young man. She came and sat down and the young man looked at her closely and his friends who
[177 accompanied him helped him. Formerly a young man did not wear
291] many clothes, he only wore one cloth in front, and a brass body-ring,
so that his whole belly might be seen, and she might look closely. Also
[516] he sits high on a stool, while his fellows sit on the ground, that he may
be seen by the girl.

be seen by the girl. Then the girl asks his fellows: 'What is he like, friends?' And they reply: 'He's a real man.' Then she agrees to the 'go-between', saying: 'Indeed, I love them [*sic*].' But if she does not like them she refuses, and the young men go away. Yes, indeed, the girl always had power to refuse; no one ever compelled her to agree, even though the man had many cattle. The fathers always agreed for their part, saying: 'My daughter is good, she refuses at my house, and tells me (i.e. she does not accept and then run away, which is bad).' And if the girl has refused the young men go away, but others laugh and jeer at them, saying: 'So-and-so's daughter refused.'

'Oh!'

'Yes. Indeed, they are horrible young men, their bodies are very ugly.'

And the young men also look closely at the girl, they look very closely, and if they see that her breasts are thin, and her face is ugly, then they go and tell her father's friend, saying: 'We are leaving her, tell her father that we will not marry his daughter. Then he tells her father, who just says: 'All right, let them leave her.' But the custom of wooing in secret first, before a man has been to the father, began among Christians. The Christians say: 'It is good to woo in secret [77]
first,' but pagan fathers still object, saying: 'We will not eat the cattle properly.'

So when the father of the girl had told us thus, we went to the chief's place, and sat down under a tree. The chief's wives sat down at a distance. Then we trembled and sweat came on our bodies. I said to my fellows: 'Do we just sit? Let us ask.' And I got up and asked the chief's wives: 'Is the chief at home?'

'Oh! Do you wish the chief?'

'Yes, we wish to see him.'

'But he is at another's wife's place. Shall we call him?'

'Please.'

'Where have you come from?'

'We come from Kabembe.'

Then I returned to my friends and the chief's wives called him, saying: 'Four young men from Kabembe have come and want to see you about something.'

Then the chief came with three of his men, and they greeted us. . . . Then the chief called to his wives: 'Bring some food for them to eat,' and he got up himself to cut a stem of bananas.

Then I said to my fellows: 'Friends, do we just chat to the chief without asking him? One should get up and tell the councillor that we had come to ask for a girl.'

Then they all said: 'You are brave, Angumbwike, you get up.' 'No, I am ashamed to get up twice, let So-and-so get up.' He got up and told one of the chief's men: 'We have something to discuss; we

quests. He passed through the mountain region 173
north and west of Karonga, receiving the submission of the chiefs as he went; thence he descended into the plain at Karonga, finally establishing himself at Mpande, where his descendants still live.

The legends which have gathered around the 173
person of Chungu reveal him as a man of impressive 177
personality. One legend states that having established himself at Karonga, he cast longing eyes on the regions on the other side of Lake Nyasa. With a great following he went down to the lake, smote the water with his sceptre, and crossed on dry land. Receiving the submission of the people, he returned as he went; followed later, but in canoes, by a great multitude of people, who wished to settle under the shadow of so great a chief. The European attitude towards this event is shared by native Christians, but quite intelligent pagans meet scepticism, quietly and gravely, with the statement that "Chungu is the man who speaks with God." The incident, or whatever event it represents in its present form, can only be satisfactorily accounted for by regarding it as what the Higher Critics call a "later accretion"; for the Angoni, with their own story of a similar crossing of the Zambesi, had not yet arrived, the Arabs were still in the distance, and direct Christian influence did not begin for many years afterwards.

It is needless to give in detail the history of his 173
successors. One lost much land to rival chiefs; another was deposed because he could not give rain in a time of drought. The country fell into confusion·

173 Prophets arose who foretold the coming of the Angoni and the Arabs to work havoc on land and people. Then from the lake would come the strange white man who would overcome Angoni and Arab, and give peace to the land. To this race the people were directed to submit themselves when they came. So deep and sure would the peace be, that men would go armed only with sticks, all need for spear and shield having passed away.

173 177 But the peace was still in the future. Arab and Angoni came and fulfilled their destiny. The Henga or Kamanga people, fleeing before the latter, were received by the Konde, and were at first friendly to their hosts, but later, when the Arabs arrived as traders and slavers, made an alliance with them against the harassed Konde. Into this confusion entered, very dramatically, the white man, of whose coming the natives give graphic accounts. The approach of the *Ilala*, the tiny steamer of the Livingstonia Mission, then operating from Cape Maclear, far to the south, struck the people with terror. " It is God," they said, " He walks on the water." As the little vessel drew near the land, the people fled into the bush. A white man landed. A few stronghearted natives ventured to approach, and saw his white skin. " It is surely God," they said, " He has come to us in the likeness of men." When he ate some bananas in their presence, they said, " No, not God, but a friend of His."

175 In 1887 the African Lakes Corporation of Glasgow

175 me by the son of one of the councillors who stood
782 near him:

> 643 "Art Thou angry with me, O God, who didst redeem me from slavery? The Angoni mocked me, the Arabs mocked me; then didst Thou cause me to see these mighty ones (the Europeans); and I said, 'Rejoice, for God has heard my prayers.' Who, then, of my ancestors is angry? Against whom have I sinned? For it is they who are my helpers in speaking to Thee. Many of them died by the spear; they saw their families destroyed; they suffered hunger again and again, before the mighty ones came. Now, O God, be merciful, and let the feet of these men come up out of the water."

Then taking water in his mouth he squirted it north and south saying, "I am lord of that country, I Magemo: I am lord of that country, I Kyabara," to which the assembled councillors responded, "E! Magemo; E! Kyabara." Then whirling the cock over his head and dipping it in the water, he gave the signal to the men hanging on the ropes to pull. And the steamer floated off into the water!

175 Meantime in the north internal warfare went on
●177 intermittently, but no man of outstanding capacity
arose to give cohesion to the various families of the
[797] Nyakyusa. Before the arrival of the Moravian
missionaries in the area in 1891, various Europeans visited the district. Hunters came and went, and for a brief space there was a station of the Livingstonia Mission not far from Tukuyu. In 1893 the German

Government established a station at Lumbira on the 175
lake shore, but removed later to Tukuyu. On the 177
whole the new Government was well received. A
rising in 1897 was so mercilessly dealt with that any
discontent which might be felt was suppressed by the
fear of the German machine-guns. Very slowly the
district is being merged in the general progress arising
out of European domination.

Around the lake shore cotton is being successfully 241
cultivated by natives and Europeans. On the uplands
near Tukuyu there are some coffee plantations, and
the suitability of the soil for the cultivation of flax is
being tested. Coal has been found in the hills to the 135
west, but its commercial value has still to be proved;
and a small quantity of mica is also being digged.
Up in the north, on the Lupa River, but outside the
Konde region, gold has been discovered, but apparently only in modest quantities. There are at present
about three score of miners at work there.

young gathering around the white man, and lending 182
themselves to his purposes, the old even to-day approaching 561
him with reluctance, if at all, for to them 578
he still retains much of the awe and hidden power
with which he was credited in the earlier days.

The individual Konde is not so popular with white 157
men as are members of other tribes; indeed there are
employers who will not knowingly give work to a
Konde at all. As workmen, it must be acknowledged
that they are both less active and less reliable than
surrounding tribes; they are neither so intelligent nor
so loyal to contract. The Konde soon wearies of
effort, and longs to get back to the lowing of his cattle
and his pretty little hut in its banana grove. He loves
his children, and the hope of being able to clothe
them if he works well, does not compensate him for
prolonged absence. Loyalty, as the Henga, Angoni, [177]
and Yao are loyal, does not distinguish the Konde,
who show loyalty rather to chief and to tribal custom,
than to the white man with his problematical benefits.
They have never attached themselves to the European,
as many of the surrounding tribes have done; for the
Konde are less convinced than others that the one hope
of Africa is the European and his influence; less convinced,
be it added, that Africa stands so desperately
in need of saving. That may be due to their unawakened
condition—and, again, it may not. Educationally, 872
too, they are less advanced than other tribes. 787
Only a few of them are to be found in Government
offices, or doing the skilled work which commands such
good pay from Europeans; nor have they supplied,

being the one that hits the object a given number of 526
times in succession.

Ingaramu, the lion, is a piece of banana cord attached 524
to a string and whirled round the head, when
it makes a noise remotely resembling the growling of
a lion. *Ifula*, rain, is our bull-roarer; old people
still believe that it stops the rain; but even they admit
that no well-disposed spirit takes any notice of child's
play. *Bandu* is a kind of top, spun by twirling it
between the palms and letting it go. Whip-tops are [177] ●
in use, but are of European origin. A kind of mimic
ammunition is supplied by the seeds of the *unsyunguti*
tree, which are thrown at the enemy, and all who are
hit are "killed," and carried off the field.

Konde children are perfectly happy. Those who 857
go to school hail the dismissal hour with the same
shouts of joy as little people at home. The boys will
climb a tree perhaps, with the more glee if the teacher's
prohibition has added a whiff of danger to the exploit.
Or they will chase an unfortunate goat around;
though the goat, having been handled from earliest
kidhood very much as we handle pet dogs, probably
enjoys the sport as much as the boys do. A couple of
boys may get astride a young bullock, and go careering
along the road; or more likely the whole troop will
make a rush for the nearest water in river or lake, and
with terrific noise splash about in joyous excitement.
No doubt those who are utterly unclad look with
envy on the scraps of clothing worn by their more
fortunate fellows, but that does not silence the shout
of glee which fills the air as boys and girls are let loose

third to cook food, and a final gift is required to make 584
her lie down on the mat along with her girl friend, 585
who stays with her for a few days. This ceremony of
the gifts is never omitted in heathen marriages, and
each successively binds the girl to her husband.

If the bride is a twin, the doctor must be present, to 789
sprinkle medicines over house and bedding, and to
give the couple a decoction supposed to prevent the
occurrence of twins in the new family.

Except the daughters of Christian parents, all 582
Konde girls are married before they arrive at puberty, 177
and what has been described above applies to child
wives, who stay with their husbands for about a month,
and then go home.

The child wife having grown to womanhood, how- 583
ever, further ceremonies have to be observed. The
husband arrives at her father's house with an ox for
the feast, and a mock struggle for possession of the
bride takes place. The women of her family barricade
themselves in the house, which is attacked by the
women of the other family. Payment of a shilling
opens the door, and the further struggle which takes
place in the house is brought to an end by the formal
presentation of the ox. The husband and his friends
enter, and engage in a weird dance, a mere tramping
of the floor in unison, with shouting and waving of
spears, no doubt a survival of what was once marriage
by capture.

The washing and shaving of the bride follows, and 585
her bark-cloth is burned, and a new one given her, and
then comes the feast of beef and beer, the materials

first wife, for it is there only that the spirits meet 763
him; and if he becomes ill anywhere else, he has 784
himself removed as soon as possible to the place where it is proper for him to die, if die he must.

A man who has been falsely reported dead in a far 784
land, must not, on his return home, enter the village without ceremony. Letters sent on ahead to assure his relatives that he is alive, are not enough; his father comes out to meet him; but he takes care not to see his son until assurance has been given that he is a true man, not a spirit; whereupon the father throws some food over his son's head, and both enter the village in peace.

It is *mwiko* to kill a python unless one is sure that it is dangerous. If it is found in the feeding ground, and the cows that day give a specially good milking, then it has been herding the cattle, and is not to be sought for afterwards with hostile intent. But the boys who saw it must go to the doctor to get medicine. Further, God Himself may be in it, or the spirit of a dead chief, and therefore it must be watched for assurance of its friendliness. If it enters a house a fowl is thrown to it, with which, if it makes off, all is well.

Very interesting are some of the prohibitions con- 784
nected with the white man; and it is obvious that 177
these are of recent growth, so that we actually see *tabus* in the making. It is *mwiko* to go into a white man's house, for the pictures on his walls are the spirits of his ancestors, who are specially dangerous at night, when they may launch an unseen spear at

784 the unlucky wight who has had the temerity to enter
177 so dangerous a place. Further, a man dying of that invisible spear-wound will almost certainly have his portion with the spirits of white men, than which there is no more undesirable fate. Did he not have enough of the white men here on earth ? This fear of the white man is passing ; but there are still old men and women who will not approach him, for they insist that he is God, and it is *mwiko* to see God. An old man died recently at Karonga, who had always refused to see a white man, lest the sight should smite him down. One of the teachers at the Mission at Ipyana told me that his own mother will not go near him when he has on a white garment, for that, she knows, is the sign that he is going to speak to God, and even a native is dangerous at such a time, for the power of God may break through to destruction. There is a curious belief still lingering among old people, that Europeans are forbidden to sleep in houses, but must come out at night, and sleep in pools, their native element being water ; for they are water spirits in origin, a belief no doubt due to the widespread story that we came from the sea itself, rather than from some place beyond it. White people are supposed to hold it *mwiko* to weep for the dead ; and indeed why should they, seeing their dead arise at once and appear on the walls ?

784 Some great chiefs must not tell if they have been wounded in battle. These remarkable men have power to remove a wound from a fatal to a non-fatal spot, and so recover. When Mwakalinga, in a fight

A few Christian families are beginning to [777] 264
eat *en famille*, but the practice is not looked upon with favour. The open air meal in good weather of course gives way to the meal in the house when it rains.

The far-stretching banana groves in which the 262
villages are hidden indicate one of the favourite foods 252
of the people. There are many kinds of banana, from the tiny "Lady's Fingers" to the great plantains, half an arm long; and they are eaten in almost as many ways. Some are eaten direct from hand to mouth, peeled and corded, for even the small cords which adhere to the fruit after the skin is removed, are meticulously attended to; other kinds are cut up and cooked; some are ground into flour, of which porridge is made, or it is added to the flesh pot to give flavour to the soup.

Maize is cooked in many ways: whole, mashed, or ground; boiled or roasted; mixed with other foods, or alone. The porridge made from maize flour is a greyish sticky-looking mess, wholly repulsive to a white man, and is often eaten without relish of any kind. Cassava, with the poison washed out by three days' soaking in running water, then dried and ground into flour; beans, with the skins removed by parboiling, and pressed between finger and thumb; peas cooked without preparation; potatoes, often eaten with milk; these are main food-stuffs, but very many small herbs are used, especially for seasoning, and some very pleasant dishes are often served up to feed sick and well alike.

daily for supplies, provided it is again quickly covered 251
up with both sand and flowing water. All this must
be done at night lest the hiding-place be revealed to
others, and the flesh stolen.

Bread is made of twice-ground maize with salt 252
added. It is kneaded into loaves of about three
inches thick, and placed in layers, interleaved with
banana leaf, in a pot with maize in the bottom. This
bread is often taken on a journey, and will keep for
five or six days. Eggs are "scrambled," with milk [177]
and salt, in a broken pot, but this is a European
introduction. No young girl will eat hard-boiled eggs; [842]
they produce a snake in the abdomen, which, of course,
in turn produces barrenness.

Very unpleasant to our minds are some of the 262
delicious foods the Konde rejoice in: flying ants
eaten alive as they are picked up where they fall from
their brief honeymoon in the air; crawling white
ants, a horrible mass of moving life; the Kungu fly,
found on Lake Nyasa, whence it comes ashore in dense
clouds, settles on bush and tree, and is shaken off into
small baskets, to be taken home and baked into cakes
while it is still fresh. In Bundali it is said that some
still eat lion's flesh, and once upon a time the crocodile
was eaten at Karonga. Sorcerers are accused of [254
devouring human flesh. A new grave is sprinkled 266]
with a powerful medicine which makes the corpse
come up without disturbing the soil, and the ghoulish
feast is enjoyed without leaving a trace of the deed
behind.

CHAPTER XI

Arts & Crafts

346 • 177 AS I write there is a church being erected at Kyimbila to seat about seven hundred and fifty people. It has fifteen windows, each with three Gothic arches, and six doors each with its Gothic arch. This work was done, with only amateur supervision, by native workmen, of whom only one has had any kind of training, all the rest being young men, some of whom had never handled a trowel, and the best of them had not had more than a few months' now and again at similar work. A good deal of pulling down and rebuilding had to be done, but the building, as it stands, with its buttresses and arched doors and windows, has a dignified and satisfying appearance. The carpentry is being done with the assistance of a trained man from Nyasaland, all the other carpenters being men with a training, or lack of it, similar to that of the bricklayers. The church is cruciform in shape, and the placing of the crown couples, if that is correct designation, was a triumph of ingenuity and patience.

176 Now there is nothing in Konde arts and crafts to lead one to think all this a natural development of what they did before. For the remarkable thing

about these arts and crafts is their failure to develop 176
at all. Hints and suggestions were there continually; yet nothing ever came of them. Iron was digged, [325]
smelted, and made into tools, yet no better tool for digging the ironstone itself was thought of than the hoe. Cloth was widely made on native looms before [286
the advent of inferior trade goods, and needles, with 291]
eyes, for sewing mats; but the idea of sewn garments did not penetrate the native mind. Burned clay pipes [326]
were made to direct the wind from the skin bellows into the blacksmith's fire, but no one received from these pipes a hint of other possibilities. The idea of [401]
the wheel, with its boundless possibilities, did not suggest itself to the Konde mind, nor, so far as I know, to the Bantu mind anywhere, although hints of it were lying about, especially in the round tree trunks which were used as rollers when a canoe had to be dragged some distance from the forest to the water.

At every point the native mind seems to have been 177
waiting for the stimulus which was to come with the white man, and which has led to an awakening, the full extent of which is not realized except by thoughtful persons. For already, after the comparatively brief tuitional period of fifty years, Central Africans are replacing Indians as Government clerks, as hospital assistants, as engineers on river steamers, as telegraphists; they do all kinds of printing and bookbinding, carpentry, and building; and they fill positions of trust which a generation ago no one thought they would ever be capable of filling. The Konde have not yet taken more than a small share in

●177 all this progress; but they have made a beginning, and they will go on.

326 Among the purely native arts that of the black-
522 smith is held in highest esteem; and the blacksmith
himself is a man feared as well as honoured; and
joked about as much as he is feared. I think if there
were a local "Punch" here, jokes about the black-
smith would take the place of jokes about the plumber
which in times past found so frequent favour with the
editors of the actual "Punch." He steals both your
time and your materials. He tells you that your hoe
will be ready on a given day; you get your hoe days
afterwards, and he has not used more than half the
material you gave him; the rest will go to make
another hoe, which he will sell, perhaps to yourself.
"As great a thief as a blacksmith," "as big a liar as a
blacksmith," are gross insults, not to the blacksmith,
but to the man who is compared with him. "The
blacksmith gets rich out of other men's property," is
another saying indicating the morals of the great
326 artificer. Yet he is feared also, and such jokes are
never made in his presence, for he is in touch with
mysterious powers, and his ancestor blacksmiths have
their own ways of conveying information to him.
Quite recently a native friend of mine was talking to
his chief, when a messenger came in hot haste to say
that a hoe had broken in the blacksmith's hands. The
blacksmith had gone at once to consult a diviner, and
learned that the spirits were angry because no one
was worshipping. "Go at once, therefore, and tell
Mwaikuyu (the chief). Do you think heaven is

Then the line advances and passes under the arch singing. The last to pass through is usually held, but sometimes escapes. 524

Of such games there is almost no end, and new ones are continually being invented, many of them imitative of something introduced by the white man, European peculiarities being specially liable to this hilarious form of flattery. I have seen boys imitate the peculiar walk of Europeans, to the intense joy of the onlookers. For, let it be repeated, to the younger generation the white man is no longer a little tin god, or any other kind of god. He is fully respected for all that the native considers worthy of respect (and their ideas do not always harmonize with ours), but if he is laughable for any reason, he need not doubt that he is laughed at. 524 177 ● 522

Dancing is the principal relaxation of the Konde, if the violent exercise which it sometimes involves may be called relaxation. It is indulged in with great zest, and, as the night advances, with complete abandon, moral and physical. There is not much that can be called religious dancing: a children's rain dance, a pestilence dance, and the wild leaping and shouting, with horn and drum, which young and old engage in at times of eclipse or earthquake. But anything may be made the occasion of an impromptu dance: the arrival of a European, especially if he is popular; the killing of lion or leopard; the killing of much game by a European; the return of friends from a journey; or a score of other reasons, some of them trivial, such as the laying down of a load which 535 father of a sick child went a few months ago to a diviner, who told him that the illness was due to his own folly in not sacrificing a cow at the funeral of his father, who had died recently. "Go and pray," said the diviner, "I will give you no medicine." After prayer, a cow was killed, and due observance made of the ritual demanded, after which the child recovered. If the sickness is due to the anger of a living person, who has persuaded his ancestors to avenge him for some wrong done, the diviner directs that an appropriate offering be brought to the offended man, who thereupon requests the spirits to remove their anger, and the patient recovers. 787

A few of the methods may now be briefly described.

I. *Ikipiki*, the stick, or cup. A hollowed-out, cup-shaped piece of wood, perhaps three inches long, is moved backwards and forwards over a piece of banana stalk, the open end of the cup downwards, and questions are asked as described. When the cup refuses to move, the right question has been asked, and the answer thereby given. In the act of divination that I saw here a few months ago, the diviner seemed honestly unable to move the cup, though in my own hand it moved easily.

II. *Iriba*. The horn of a small buck is filled with medicines, and placed with its base on the ground. When questions are asked, it begins to sway, and stands still again when the right question has been put.

III. *Iryabwe* is a recent importation from another 787
district. The diviner, having drunk a medicine called 177
musika, sits on the dark side of the door, having in his

787 177 hand a small calabash partly filled with sand; the inquirer sits on the other side of the door. The diviner shakes his calabash, saying, "Speak, Mulambya, who dwellest by the clear waters; tell me what disease this man is suffering from." He soon begins to feel a rising in the throat, which causes him to speak in a falsetto voice, "*He, tata.*" The falsetto now gives way to the natural voice, in which the questions are put, the answer, coming in falsetto, being the response of the spirit. It would be interesting to know whether the *musika* medicine has qualities which cause the throat to contract so as to produce a falsetto voice, but the point is one upon which I have no information.

IV. *Wa m'maboko*, the hands. When an inquirer
787 chooses this method, the diviner goes to the bush, whence he takes a *kilago*, a rush-like grass about eighteen inches in length. Detaching the rootlets, he chews them carefully, and spits the juice into his hands. The palms being rubbed smoothly over each other, the questions are put, and when the hands stick, the answer has been given.

V. *Kayamba*, the tortoise. The intestines of the tortoise are removed, and a cord passed through the mouth and the anus. The cord is held upright by the left hand, while the tortoise is lifted with the right as each question is put. When the right question is asked, the tortoise, instead of falling to the ground, stops half-way on the string. This form of divination is very widely known among the tribes around Lake Nyasa.

CHAPTER XXV

The Brave Days of Old

LIKE the Romans and Greeks, and like many peoples at an elementary stage of civilization, the Konde place their great days in the past. It is, perhaps, a little strange that this should be so; for there can be no doubt that the presence of the white man has stirred the African everywhere to the thought of a new day for his race. But they are at the same time conscious that great things were done in the past, and among the demands made upon me by natives whom I have consulted, and who have helped me with this book, there is none more insistent than that I should include the portentous happenings of an older day. 173

Old and middle-aged men speak gleefully of the days of their youth; of the great deeds they did when they were boys, how they trapped more skilfully, caught bigger fish, ran faster, leaped higher than the young men of to-day. And the deterioration, they assert very emphatically, is due to the presence of the white man. Not that the latter discourages sport; on the contrary he spurs it on; but in his own way, and that is not the Konde way. The white man's way is to give prizes to the winner; the Konde 177 ● 9L8

177 868 way is to give the lash to the duffers; and they claim that theirs is the more effective method of bringing all up to a high standard. But thrash the ninny to-day, and he is off to the Administrative Officer to lodge his complaint, which the latter must inquire into. And hence much deterioration.

173 773 But these are not the facts of which they wish a permanent record to be made. There are other things; things which the pagan native profoundly believes, and which Christians also believe and take pride in, though they think that the missionary will object to their holding what he probably calls silly ideas. These stories include most of the typical tales of olden times: the hero-warrior, the defier of tyrants, the mighty medicine man, the great prophet, the man who has obtained lordship over Nature in some form, and the man who controls the spirits. All these, and many more, are included among the Konde tales, and I do not place them among folk tales, for the people regard them quite differently. A folk tale is to-day, whatever it may have been in the past, either a mere diversion to pass away an idle moment, or a moral for children, or a warning for adolescents. The tales which I am thinking of are, in the native mind, records of facts, facts which they believe to be no longer achievable, but indubitably fact in the past; and no study of the native mind can be complete which does not take this into account.

I. The hero-warrior. Chungu, in his early wanderings in search of a home, came near the hil Mphande, the seat of the Simbowe rulers of that day.

231 according to the *Bell Report*. Cattle and hides are exported to Tanganyika.[1] The *Nyamwanga* herds were reduced, partly by Bemba raids, and partly by rinderpest.[2]

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

341 361 *Ngonde* homesteads are famous in Nyasaland for their peculiar style and neatness of execution. They are made of bamboos, specially grown for the purpose. They are oblong, with the ends slightly tapering upwards so that they present a ship-like appearance. The huts are erected in two lines facing each other, at a distance of about 30 yards. This centre street is kept scrupulously clean.[3] The *Nyakyusa* live in round or long huts of bamboo or grass.[4] *Kinga* homesteads are scattered; they live in round huts of bamboo and straw.[5] The *Iwa* formerly lived in large stockaded villages, but these are now broken up.[6]

SPECIALIZATION AND TRADE

326 The Ngonde were accomplished iron-workers; iron was dug, smelted, and made into hoes and spears.[7] The Iwa were formerly noted as iron-workers. Both they and the Nyamwanga grow tobacco on a large scale.[8]

286 501 226 A rough kind of cloth was made on native looms. The Ngonde made hollowed canoes, but were not good sailors. In fishing they used poison, hooks, nets, and traps. Pottery and basket-making were carried on.[9]

[177] 437 643 The Ngonde were the most civilized of this cluster of tribes, owing to their closer contact with Arab and Swahili traders who used the lake as a waterway.[10] The Nyamwanga also had opportunities of contact with Arab and Swahili traders at the south end of Lake Tanganyika,[11] but information about the effect of this on their economic life is lacking. By comparison with the Ngonde the Nyakyusa were isolated from contact with the outside world,[12] and this is probably true of the other tribes of the group. Among the Ngonde, in spite of the political hierarchy and central religious authority of Kyungu, economic links between separate local groups were few. The ivory trade was a source of wealth for the Kyungu and for the nobles of Ngonde at Mbande, but its benefits had a strictly limited effect on the rest of the people. The economic links between the capital and the chiefdoms followed the lines of the political system. The income of Kyungu in slaves and cattle depended on the judicial process and on warfare. He had a semi-monopoly of the ivory of the country (the right tusk of every elephant killed was his). His expenditure consisted of entertainment for all important visitors to the capital, and gifts of cloths, obtained through the ivory trade, to nobles and chiefs. The first Kyungu gave head-cloths to the indigenous rulers, who, in accepting them, accepted his overlordship, and the practice was continued every time a new chief or territorial noble succeeded to office. The nobles of Ngonde got cloths every time [illegible]

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[1] *Bell Report*, pp. [illegible]; [illegible]

[2] Gouldsbury and Sheane, 1911, p. [illegible]

[3] Kerr-Cross, [illegible]; [illegible], pp. [illegible]

[4] *Handbook of German East Africa*, p. [illegible]

[5] Ibid., p. [illegible]

[6] Gouldsbury and Sheane, 1911, p. [illegible]

[7] Mackenzie, 1925, pp. [illegible]; Kerr-Cross, [illegible], p. [illegible]

[8] Gouldsbury and Sheane, 1911, p. [illegible]

[9] Mackenzie, 1925, pp. [illegible]

[10] Wilson, G., 1939, p. [illegible]

[11] Ibid., [illegible], p. [illegible]

[12] [illegible], p. [illegible]

same chiefdom in which the trees were growing; for between chiefdoms an actual or potential state of war always existed, and a man coming from a hostile group to claim property would have been driven away violently. But to-day under European rule it is now customary for a man to cut his own bamboos, if he is living in a neighbouring chiefdom, instead of leaving them to his resident kinsfolk. The group within which property can be held is gradually widening. 423 178

Such is the custom among the Kukwe and Selya groups; their rights in bamboos and *cyangati* trees are not normally lost when a man moves provided there are kinsfolk left nearby to exercise them. The one exception to this rule is in the case of expulsion for witchcraft or other serious crime. Then even if the man expelled has left kinsfolk behind him, still the chief takes his trees. 423 681

Among the Nyakyusa proper, on the other hand, the *cyangati* trees are treated like bananas. When a man moves he loses all rights in them and, unless the chief steps in to take them, as he always may, they are granted by the great-commoner, together with the soil, to the newcomer who is put on that site. Bamboos, as in Selya and Kukwe country, continue to belong to the kinsman of the man who has moved.[1] 423 425 621

Trees introduced by the Europeans, of which coffee trees are the most valuable, have been declared by the Federation of Chiefs to be the property of the planter, even although he has moved to a different chiefdom. This law was made after much anxious discussion between the chiefs, the Administration and the Agricultural Department and is, of course, subject to revision if it is found after trial to be impracticable. In the case of coffee it has inevitably been modified in practice since coffee must be tended continuously if it is to remain free from pests and to bear fruit, and any man who actually looks after coffee trees has a generally admitted claim to the crop unless he is paid by the planter for his labour. The planter, however, in surrendering the trees to him may compel him to pay something like their market value. 423 177 ● 245

Further, as the Agricultural Officer has the right to uproot any untended coffee trees and must exercise it if pests are to be kept under control, the practice has grown up of his taking over any large number of abandoned trees and keeping them clean with labour paid by the Native Treasury; the trees are subsequently sold to some other man and the proceeds paid into the Native Treasury again. If, however, a planter of coffee trees makes arrangements, when he moves, for the cleaning of his coffee then the trees remain his own.

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[1] Some informants deny this and insist that they always pass to the chief. I was not myself long in Mwangonde among the Nyakyusa proper and I lack conclusive evidence on the point.

423 In his tenure of land every Nyakyusa man is related to some chief
who is his overlord. But their relationship is not confined to the single
622 element of land-tenure, it is just as many-sided and complex as is any
other human relationship ; and even as we abstract from it the particular
set of facts that immediately concerns us here we must at once refer them
again to it if they are to be intelligible.

166 When a newcomer is received into a village and given land the chief,
as we have seen, is normally a party to the villagers' action, and in most
423 cases he himself ceremonially welcomes the newcomer if he comes from
622 outside the chiefdom by sending to him a present of cooked food. He
has gained a new subject and his power and prestige are thereby increased.
[427] As men are quite free to move from one tiny chiefdom to another and as
land is still relatively plentiful the phenomenon of rent does not exist
among the pagan Nyakyusa, there is no direct charge ever specifically
made in return for the right to build and cultivate. Nevertheless a chief
is a chief and his subjects' land is his as well as theirs and they are under
certain obligations to him.

622 Among these obligations that of providing cooked food for the
55 ceremonies of the chief's own immediate family is probably the most
important. When a chief's daughter, for example, is getting married
[585] women from all over the chiefdom bring food to entertain the bridegroom
and his friends on the day that they bring the bulk of the cattle. The
obligation to bring food, though not a legal one, is both reciprocal and
conventional. The chief is expected to kill one or two of the beasts to
feed his people and if he is mean about this, killing one where he should
have killed two, then on the next occasion his people are more reluctant
[626] to bring food. But there is also the sense of shame constraining
individuals. If the majority of households in a village provide food for a
chief on such an occasion, and the majority I think nearly always do so,
then the shameful meanness and unconventionality of defaulters is the
subject of adverse comment among them.

A chief also has the traditional right, still widely admitted to-day, to
send and take food, especially milk and bananas, from his subjects if he
has need of it. And we have seen already that men with more than one
wife are prompted to retain *isongo* bananas for themselves in order to
meet his demands without upsetting the peace of their households. This
[177] traditional right however is known not to be admitted by the European
Administration, on the grounds that a salary has taken its place, and is
therefore beginning to fall into disuse. Chiefs, I was told, often fear to
exercise it lest some man refuse obedience and take a complaint to the
Boma, nor are they willing to confine their demands to those men of
whose compliance they are certain. As the salary of an ordinary chief,

It is unusual for a sociologist to find such a simple problem[1] for 642
analysis as this and it was not long before the answer was plain. The 177
Nyakyusa, until a few decades before the coming of the Europeans, had been largely isolated from any vigorous external contacts; Ngonde, on the other hand, had been effectively related to the outside world for generations. The Nyakyusa actually possessed in the Lwembes, the hereditary chiefs of Lubaga, a line of spiritual paramounts or high priests, whose religious functions were remarkably similar to those of the Kyungus in Ngonde; but, poor and isolated as they were, they had never developed any secular paramountcy at all. The reasons for the greater elaboration of the traditional political system of Ngonde were to be found above all in the ivory trade and in the constant influx of immigrant groups.

And it further became clear that the prestige which the present Kyungu enjoys in the changed conditions to-day is due in large part to his having followed the mercantile traditions of his predecessors, mastered the business methods of the Scots, made a fortune, and then kept up his position out of his own private means.

2. *THE CHRONICLE OF NGONDE (TO 1875).*

In studying the present constitution of Ngonde and the profound 177
changes now taking place in it, we cannot find any point of time at
which the process of change began. In its present radical form social 178
change in Ngonde arises from the ferment of a host of new social conditions imported by European missionaries, traders and Government officials. But the Arabs also brought change to Ngonde and before the Arabs the Ngoni, while before the coming of the Ngoni there is evidence to suggest that changes had arisen, on more than one occasion, in the normal behaviour of the men of Ngonde which were stimulated, not by any new contacts with the outside world, but simply by accidents of their own internal history. Social change in Ngonde, as far as we can see, has always been going on.

In this section the political history of Ngonde is described in out- 173
line from the its beginnings to the coming of the Europeans in 1875, in so far as it can be recovered from the oral tradition. In later sections a systematic analysis is attempted, first of the constitution of Ngonde just prior to that date, and then of the changes in it which have since taken place.

(a) *THE EARLY KYUNGUS.*

It is generally agreed that the ancestors of the Kyungus, the present 173
hereditary chiefs of Ngonde, came from the Livingstone Mountains in 643

[1][The dissimilarity between the Ngonde and the Nyakyusa political systems.—Analyst]

enables us to accept it as broadly accurate. But from 1875 onwards written records[2] begin to supplement the oral tradition.

A little before 1875 Mwafungo, another chief of Ngana, had 175
succeeded Gwa Sapasi as the Kyungu; and in that year the Europeans 177
first reached Ngonde. But about the same time Arab slave and ivory traders established themselves there also and for the next twenty years disputed its possession with the Europeans.

In 1875 Dr. Laws and his party made a voyage of exploration in the "Ilala" round the lake and visited Ngonde; and within the next six years [797] both a Free Church of Scotland mission station and a post of the African Lakes Corporation were set up there. The site they selected was on the lake shore in Kalonga's district and so became known by his name.[3] But the Arab traders were in Ngonde too. The Arabs sometimes traded with the people of Ngonde, sometimes fought them, while the African Lakes Corporation Agent tried to combine a lucrative trade with the Arabs and the protection of the people against them.

During the course of a fight with the Arabs Kyungu Mwafungo was killed and Mwabulambo, yet another chief of Ngana, was taken in his place. The nobles of Ngonde at first wanted to take Malema, a chief of Ngelenge, but he fled from them; "they asked the Arab Mlozi to lend them men to look for him, but he hid in a tree and escaped them. So they took Mwabulambo."

It was fourteen years after the arrival of Dr. Laws before the British made any move to take over Ngonde; and in the interval Monteith Fotheringham, the African Lakes Agent, only just succeeded in maintaining himself against the Arabs, owing to the help of Captain F. D. (now Lord) Lugard. But in 1889 H. H. (afterwards Sir Harry) Johnston arrived and made treaties both with the chiefs and the Arabs in Ngonde, and from then until 1896 the country formed part of the "sphere of influence" of the British South Africa Company. In 1895 Mlozi, the leading Arab, openly refused to accept the new state of affairs and was hanged. And in the next year Ngonde was incorporated in the British Protectorate of Central Africa (afterwards renamed Nyasaland).

About this time—the present Kyungu says it was in 1894—the 175
nobles of Ngonde deposed Kyungu Mwabulambo and made Mwakaba-

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[2] *Lakes and Mountains of Africa.* Elton. *1879.*
Adventures in Nyasaland. L. M. Fotheringham. *1891.*
The Rise of our East African Empire. F. D. Lugard. *1893.*
British Central Africa. H. H. Johnston. *1897.*
Fighting the Slave Hunters in Central Africa. A. J. Swann. *1910.*
Laws of Livingstonia. W. P. Livingstone. *1921.*
After Livingstone. F. L. M. Moir. *1923.* Etc.

[3] Spelt "Karonga," the KyaNgonde "l" being retroflex.

175 nga, one of the chiefs of Ngrienge, Kyungu in his stead. "They deposed Mwabulambo because, as they said, the country was once more at peace and so they should take a son of Mwakasungula again as the Kyungu." Mwakabanga was at first installed on the lake shore, but after the death of Mlozi he moved to the traditional capital at the foot of Mbande.

175 The demarcation of the interterritorial boundary between Nyasaland and German East Africa (afterwards Tanganyika) cut across the area of 177 Mbande's influence. The majority of the Lambya were separated by the boundary from their chiefs Nyondo and Kameme, while the Ndali who had, so it is said, previously sent regular tribute of ivory to Mbande, now became quite independent. And some of the more remote territorial nobles to the west were included in Northern Rhodesia.

One of the first acts of the new Government was to forbid the hunting of elephants without a license and thus at a blow the main traditional source of the Kyungu's revenue came to an end. Since then the numbers of elephants have been greatly reduced by European hunters, and only a few are left in the Ngonde of to-day. Taxes soon began to be collected, however, and small subsidies to be paid from them to selected chiefs and nobles.

175 Now Kyungu Mwakabanga, who died in 1904, after a reign of ten 178 years, "was the first Kyungu to sit with his people judging their cases: he appeared before them at his own homestead. None of his predecessors had done so, only the nobles of Ngonde had seen them." During his [202] reign the Government suppressed the **malalata**, on the ground that their methods were too rough, and gave him government-paid messengers instead. And it also forbade the poison-ordeal.

After Mwakabanga's death the nobles of Ngonde chose Mwangalaba, a son of Malema, to succeed; and early in his reign there were other significant changes of custom. From his predecessors, as we have seen, when they journeyed through their country, all commoners save the very old had fled. The Kyungu was too terrible for ordinary men to look upon. "Not till the succession of Mwangalaba was this custom abandoned." And in the third year of his reign the custom of hoeing **milima** lapsed, not to be revived till 1927.

Now, as it happened, Mwangalaba had a younger brother, Peter, who was a man of exceptional talents. Starting as a Christian teacher he then became a store capitao of the African Lakes Corporation and of various other firms, and later set up in business for himself with a chain of shops and made a fortune. And when Mwangalaba began to fail in 1912 Peter became his assistant and proved himself to have legal and administrative ability also. A failing Kyungu could not, as in former times, be killed and Mwangalaba lingered on until 1932. In 1927 it became necessary

7: Sanderson 4-5 (ca. 1920) 1923 FN17 Ngonde FN17

THE RELATIONSHIP SYSTEMS OF THE WANGONDE AND WAHENGA TRIBES, NYASALAND.

By Meredith Sanderson, M.R.C.S., F.R.G.S.

I.—The Wangonde.

1. The Wangonde are a Bantu tribe inhabiting that part of Central Africa adjacent to the north-west shores of Lake Nyasa. They are a somewhat primitive people, as yet little contaminated by European civilisation; they are intensely conservative and their customs differ from those of neighbouring tribes. As a result of this conservatism their system of relationship still bears, in its nomenclature, evidence of its evolution from exogamy in its most primitive form, and of all Nyasaland tribes the Wangonde have probably been least influenced by contact with others. In recent history they were victimised from time to time both by Arab slavers and by the Angoni, but neither appear to have left any trace of their domination. It should be mentioned, however, that the chieftainship was usurped some 10 (?) generations ago by an adventurer who, according to tradition, came from the north-west (towards Tanganyika) and whose descendants still form the ruling caste. It may be that some new customs were introduced at this time, though this is denied by the descendants of the old nobility, who still retain a large share of influence in tribal council. [7] [8] [17] [63]

2. *Definitions.*—Ilumbu = "brother"[1] to "sister," or "sister" to "brother." [60]
A man calls his elder "brother" mkulukumyu; a younger one unung'una; the same terms are used by a woman for her "sisters." All children of uncles and aunts are regarded as "brothers" and "sisters," including those of maternal uncle and of paternal aunt; those of father's elder "brother," of mother's elder "sister," and of mother's "brother," are called unkulu, irrespective of age.

The term umpito is often used, irrespective of sex, as alternative for "brother" or "sister"; its real meaning is rather "kinsman," and it may also be used for any relative or connection except the age-classes immediately above or below that of the speaker (*e.g.*, father or son), as it implies a degree of intimacy not permitted with those degrees. Wampito means "my" (lit. "our") "kinsman"; the second and third persons are unnapito and unnapo respectively; there is no singular form.

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[1] The use of inverted commas with English terms of relationship indicates that they are used in the full classificatory sense.

601 husbands of "grand-daughters" by marriage (but not "grandsons" by marriage); the "grandfathers" of a husband; and own husband.

TATA includes own father, his "brothers" and "sisters," and the husband of father's "sister"; also husband of mother's sister. By courtesy the term is used for all "fathers" of a wife or husband (instead of [illegible]), or to any superior in station or age, whether related or not.

YUWA (mother) includes own mother, her "brothers" and "sisters" the wives of the father's "brothers" and the wives of a woman's maternal uncle. The term may also be used for the mothers of a wife or husband, or as a mere term of respect.

These terms (TATA and YUWA) are used only in speaking of one's own fathers or mothers, the possessive adjective, "my" or "our," being invariably omitted. For other persons, the old Bantu words WISE and NYINA are substituted; *e.g.*, uwiso, uwise, uwisemwe, uwiswe ("thy," "his," "your," "their father"), plurals [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], etc. ("my" or "our," "thy," "his fathers," etc.). So unyoko, unyina, unyinamwe, unyinawo ("thy," "his," "your," "their mother"), plurals [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], etc. ("my" or "our," "thy," "his mother").

MWANA = son or daughter, including, of course, those of "brothers" and "sisters," and of wife.

NKAMWANA, obviously derived from nkasi wa mwana ("wife of a son"), may be used by either a man or a woman for that degree of relationship.

MWEGHANINI (= [illegible], "marry with us," from *[illegible]*, "to marry") or KITWANI (= *[illegible]*, "marry with us," from *[illegible]*, "to marry"). [17] The former is said to be a *Kinyakyusa* word,[1] now in general use, and the latter the old *Kingonde* word; either may be used to denote a paramour of one's wife, and as a result the term [illegible] is usually added when referring to a husband of the speaker's potential wife, which is its special meaning, in order to deprive it of any suggestion of offence.

NKASI-MWINANGU ("my fellow-wife") is the corresponding term used by a woman for the wife of a potential husband, but it is not generally used among the potential wives of a man, as such. The actual wives of a man, however, refer to each other by means of this term, and to their husband's potential wives.

[illegible] denotes a father's sister of either a man or a woman, and reciprocally a "brother's" child of a woman. It probably has reference to the right of marriage possessed by a man with the daughter of his wife's "brother." (See para. 3 (2) below.)

MWIPWA includes mother's brother and sister's son or daughter of a man, and mother's brother of a woman. A woman calls her sister's son [illegible]. (See para. 3 (4) below.)

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[1] The Wanyakyusa are a tribe racially allied to the Wankonde, and inhabiting neighbouring territory.

123 as they do, in their behaviour and their mutual relationships to a common type. Space forbids such an undertaking here; and it is necessary to emphasize that, although the most significant facts are described in an orderly manner, and although certain reasons for these facts are indicated in their specific character and in their connections with one another, yet these reasons are not fully or systematically worked out, and the result is a description which leaves the facts only half-explained. And, in so far as this society is not here fully analyzed, so it is not yet fully comparable with others. The reader of this paper will detect many points of similarity and of difference between Nyakyusa society and some other with which he is familiar, but the comparison cannot be made to yield any propositions about the nature of human societies in general until the facts of both have been fully explained in terms of their particular social, cultural, and external conditions.

Climate, Cultural Groups, and European Contact.

101 The Nyakyusa live in the Rungwe District of South Tanganyika in
131 the Rift Valley at the head of Lake Nyasa. The valley is dominated and
133 closed at its North end by the recently extinct Rungwe volcano, from
whose foot the land, starting as an upland plateau 5,000 ft. above sea-level,
tumbles southwards for twenty-five miles in a broken cascade of hills, to
level out in a plain fifteen or twenty miles from Lake Nyasa. The Lake
is 1200 ft. above the sea. The East wall of the Rift rises to 10,000 ft. or
more in the peaks of the Livingstone Mountains, but the West wall is two
[133] or three thousand feet lower. The climate is very wet, for about 130" of
rain fall each year, and, at 9° South of the Equator, is also very hot.
[161 The rain and the sun together make the land extremely fertile; the
district is thickly populated (over 100 to the square mile), famine is rare
731] and the Nyakyusa are far better fed than most of their neighbours. Rice
177 was introduced into the plain by Arabs, coffee by the German Missionaries
244 in the hills, and these two crops to-day, under the enthusiastic care
and guidance of the Government Agricultural Department, bring to
many Nyakyusa a small but steadily increasing cash income.

262 Their main foods are bananas, maize, beans, sweet potatoes and a
241 variety of greenstuffs, together with meat and curds from their cattle.
Millet is extensively grown and is used both for making beer and for
eating in the form of porridge.

101 The name *Nyakyusa* is nowadays used by themselves as a general name for all those who have similar speech and customs and who live in Tanganyika; but formerly it only covered those who live in the South of the district, in the plain and up in the hills as far North as the administra-

tive capital, Tukuyu, and it is still thus used to distinguish this group 101
from others. This group will here be referred to as "*Nyakyusa proper.*"
Those in the North of the district to the West and East of Mount Rungwe
call themselves *Kukwe* and *Mwamba* respectively, and there is a group of
chiefdoms to the East, under the Livingstone Mountains, called *Selya.*
All these four groups share a common culture, distinguished by minor [184]
local peculiarities of dialect and custom. Immediately bordering the
Nyakyusa to the South West are the *Ngonde* (Europeanized as "*Konde*")
in Northern Nyasaland ; they belong to the same cultural group but are
distinguished by greater differences of custom and speech than the
others. I have not yet visited them.

In the hills to the West of the Rift live the *Ndali*, who are included
in this administrative district ; and on the plateau under these hills, to the
West of the Kukwe, live the *Penja.* Both these small groups have old
languages of their own which, though related to that of the Nyakyusa are [197]
more or less unintelligible to them ; and they have equally distinct cultures.
But they are now rapidly being assimilated to the Nyakyusa both in [177]
speech and in law.

I use the name Nyakyusa, in accordance with modern usage, to
include the Nyakyusa proper, the Kukwe, Mwamba, and Selya groups,
but to exclude the Ndali, the Penja, and the Konde. The Nyakyusa
together with the Ndali and Penja number 150,000 ; the Konde of Nyasaland [161]
30,000.[8]

Members of the Berlin and Moravian Missions were the first Europeans 797
to settle in the district, where they have lived now for forty-five 177
years and have made numerous converts. The German Administrators
followed them closely, and later came a few planters. But pronounced
economic change is a matter of the past five to ten years during which
time the Lupa Gold Fields of South Tanganyika have been opened up
and have employed increasing numbers of Africans on the diggings.
During the past few years the young men of the Nyakyusa have developed [166
the habit of going for a few months, now and again, to the Gold Fields to 464]
earn money for tax and clothes. They seldom stay more than six months
at a time, often only one or two ; so that their absence does not cause the
same difficulties in their own community that are found in other areas
where the men spend longer periods away from home.

The Family, together with a sketch of wider Kinship Groupings

The relationships of husband and wife, parent and child, sibling and 593
sibling are continually visible in the culture of the Nyakyusa. The

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[8] Government Census figures.

583 837 her and then returns to her first husband the cows he had given for her with two in addition as adultery fine. But this return is usually made only after the first husband has brought a lawsuit against him.

837 684 ● 177 Adultery is extremely common now-a-days; when a man runs off with, or is discovered seducing, a married woman and has not enough cows to marry her, he is legally compelled to pay two cows for the adultery to her husband. In pre-European days an adulterer, if caught, was usually punished by the husband and his neighbours with death or extreme torture, and the old men tell me that adultery was then a rarer event.

584 177 The extent to which a girl is usually allowed to choose whom she will marry is difficult to guage, and varies in different circumstances. Opportunities of meeting and flirting with young men at dances and ceremonies are frequent; and the older men say that, owing to the abolition by the Europeans of the old severe punishments for adultery, girls [582] are freer now than they used to be, for their lovers no longer fear to run off with them if they are married or bespoken (which is in Nyakyusa law very much the same thing). The custom of betrothing infant girls is, they declare, less common than it used to be; they are now more chary of pledging their daughters "for when they grow up they just run off with someone else." A girl's choice is, however, limited by the necessity of finding a lover who has cows, and few young men have enough to secure her if she is already married, though they may have enough to pay an adultery fine.

[428] 593 Owing, in part, to the laws of inheritance, by which a commoner's[6] full-brother inherits before his son, it is the older men who control the cattle. Every bachelor is largely or wholly dependent on his own father (or his dead father's heir) for the cows for his first marriage, and he must hoe his father's fields for many years before he is given enough to secure a wife and to set up a family of his own. Economic reciprocity is an element in most human relationships, and it enters into the Nyakyusa relationship of father and son. It is well understood, in this society, that 593 685 after a certain length of time spent hoeing his father's fields a young man is entitled to some cows, if his father has any; and if his father delays too long the young man either stops hoeing for his father or else he takes legal action and enforces his claim. Between father and son such law cases are rare, but they are frequent between a young man and the brother of his father who has inherited his father's wives, property, and position in the family.

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[6] The laws of inheritance for a chief are, in certain respects, different; vide infra, "The Chiefdom."[a]

[a] [Cat. [illegible] pp. 278 ff.--Analyst.]

8:Wilson E-5 (1934-1936)1936 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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kinsman. Though some of the reasons for his subordination are to be found in modern conditions, it is clear that many of the factors have always operated. 622

Wars did not only occur between brothers; but when one chief defeated another who was more distantly related to him, he did not, apparently ever, reduce him to a minor position: He either took his cows and then left him alone, or killed him and set up a brother of his own as an independent though allied chief, or else, more rarely, killed him, took over the country and directly incorporated it in his own. So that, apart from the subordination of a defeated brother and his heirs, political authority always stopped at the boundaries of each separate chiefdom.[18] 622 727

The traditionally independent chiefdoms to-day vary in numbers from 100 to about 3,000 adult men. 631 161

The coming of the German Administration in 1893 introduced a paramount political authority, for the first time, in the persons of European officials; while in 1926, a generation later, the British Administration created new Native Authorities under the District Officer and superior to the chiefs. The traditionally independent chiefs were grouped together in eleven court districts, in each district a "Native Court" was set up, consisting of the various chiefs and their great commoners, under the hereditary presidency of one of the chiefs, who thereby became senior to all the others in that court district. Salaries for chiefs have been introduced, and the senior chiefs receive far higher salaries than the others; while the meetings of each Court are always held in the territory of the senior chief (*omalafyale ophalamba*); and to it has now been transferred a great deal of the legal business which, before 1926, was transacted by each chief sitting with his own great commoners in his own chiefdom. The chiefs themselves were consulted in the selection of the Court Presidents, and those chosen were normally the chiefs with the greatest number of men in each particular court district. 636 177 [465]

In this account the term *senior chief* (*omalafyale ophalamba*) denotes the President of a Native Court, *chief* (*omalafyale*) means one of the traditionally independent chiefs, while *minor chief* (*omalafyale omnandi*) means one of the subordinate chiefs, often with only 40-60 men under him.

The introduction of Courts and salaries has brought an entirely new element into the relationship between old and young chiefs (*vide* 636 177 578

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[18] Among the Konde of Nyasaland, I am told, there was a paramount chief Kyungu, with a far-reaching political authority; but there was no such chief among the Nyakyusa.

636 *supra*). Only one of them can receive the salary and they commonly
●177 dispute about it. Quarrels are particularly frequent over the position of
578 senior chief, for the presidency of a Court carries with it a relatively large salary. Old senior chiefs cling to the position long after their sons have " come out " and when they die their full-brothers still dispute the position with the sons because of the salary involved. Such a situation could not have arisen before 1926, for then there was no comparable issue between them.

636 And the introduction of salaries has also had a most profound effect
622 upon the relative status of the two young chiefs who " come out "
177 together. When an ordinary chief, with a small salary, dies the Government recognizes the first son alone as chief and pays the whole salary to him. This reduces the second son to the position of a minor chief as effectively as a defeat in war might have done in the old days. But, while the action of warfare only occasionally led to the subordination of one of the brothers, this action of the Government does so invariably, and always subordinates the younger brother. When a senior chief dies, on the other hand, the salary is usually divided: the bulk of it goes to the first son, together with the position of senior chief, while to the second son is given the salary of an ordinary chief.

554 As the prestige and authority of a father in his family, or of a man
622 among his neighbours, is closely connected with his wealth on the one hand, and with his believed religious powers on the other, so also the status of a chief among his people. He has more cows, more wives, more food than other men; he is spiritually responsible for the fertility of the land, the women and the cattle of his chiefdom. But he is no autocrat, and all his public functions require for their exercise the co-operation of his great commoners.

622 Polygyny is, above all, the mark of a chief. Few commoners have
595 more than five or six wives, but a chief frequently marries fifteen, thirty, fifty or even more; his wives weed and plant the fields which their unmarried sons hoe, and there is plenty of food for guests. Chiefs themselves hoe when they have time, and often they employ a poor man to hoe for them as well, rewarding him after a year or two with a cow. It is not
837 possible for one man to satisfy so many women sexually, and it is generally said that every chief's wife, save the five or six who are his favourites, has a lover. But intrigues must be carried on with care, for their discovery means a great public scandal.

The extent of a chief's polygyny is conditioned by his control of cattle, and his income in cattle is derived mainly from inheritance and the

living representatives, to take their name, and to sacrifice at their 173
groves, it was commoner priests who chose them and, as will be [643]
seen, put them to death when it was expedient for the good of the
people. It is clear, too, from what source the commoners drew [563]
their power. The invaders were supposed to have brought into
the country fire, cattle, crops, and iron; they were creators, the [177]
guarantors and preservers of fertility; and it was to foster and increase fertility that men worshipped and sacrificed at the groves of the mythical heroes. The aborigines, on the other hand, without fire, without iron, and feeding on raw meat as the myth depicts them, possessed one weapon of terrible potency, witchcraft, which no chief, not even a priest of the chief's lineage, could withstand or would dare to challenge. To the Nyakyusa the essential nature of the universe, established in history and in the institutions of their society, was reciprocity, a balance between chiefs and commoners, between cattle-owners and cultivators, between the creative power of the heroes and the black anger of the witches. The idea of a chief who was a dictator was as foreign as the idea of a single omnipotent creator. Moreover, there was a multiplicity of chiefs, no single central authority.

The heroic tradition, then, accounts for the differences between 173
the chiefs and commoners and for the remarkable equilibrium that
obtains between them. It accounts also, as we shall find, for the 643
'coming out' ritual, at least in part. It is strangely silent, however, 561
about the origin of what is perhaps the most striking feature of Nyakyusa social life, the system of age-villages. The absence of any link between the myths of the heroes and the founding of age-villages is the more surprising in that the pattern of age-organization almost certainly came into the valley from the north-east. Only in East Africa was government based on age groups and the handing over of power from one generation to the next celebrated by whole communities. If the system of age-villages came in with the eastern invaders why is this contribution to civilized living (for the Nyakyusa regard village life as the essence of civilization) never mentioned? The only explanation we can offer is that the age structure is not necessarily linked with chieftainship, whereas the control of cattle and iron was the basis of power, and making fire was a symbol, not only of a new chieftainship, but of the vital creative force in the body of the chief. The heroic cycle justifies the relations between chiefs and commoners, but is not concerned with other institutions of the society.

634 accessible in an earlier book, *Rituals of Kinship among the Nyakyusa*,[1]
796 and the details need not be recapitulated here.

769 Perhaps the reader has already noted a certain difficulty over
tenses: 'is' tends to merge into 'was'. When we first visited
114 BuNyakyusa in 1934 missionaries of various denominations had
797 already been at work, and a foreign government in control, for
177 forty years past. Between 1934 and my last visit in 1955 the
changes have been great, but I use the present tense for things
seen at first hand, whether earlier or later, and a separate chapter
is devoted to the twenty years' change. It is well to recognize at
the outset, however, that in 1934 the sanctity and power of the
[643] 'divine kings' was already questioned and their rituals were
[796] curtailed, and even the pagan cosmology of the Nyakyusa was
beginning to exhibit traces of Christian influence. One striking
example was the changing, or rather the fluid, connotation of the
name *Kyala*.

Two new types of organization developed in BuNyakyusa with the arrival of the Europeans: churches which are based on a principle of association wholly new to the pagan tradition—common belief as opposed to kinship or contiguity; and a centralized system of government. To these have now been added trading concerns, of which the most important are co-operative societies exporting coffee and rice.

121 The subject of this book is (i) the traditional rituals celebrated
on behalf of chiefdoms and groups of chiefdoms, and (ii) the
changing ideas and values apparent as a section of the Nyakyusa
turn from paganism to Christianity. In the concluding chapters
an attempt is made to demonstrate the links between the changes
in social structure and the changes in ritual.

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[1] Monica Wilson, *Rituals of Kinship among the Nyakyusa*, 1957.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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539 fierce warriors. They were first driven out, then later Lwembe (3) was driven out too. When Lwembe was a child, herding cattle with his fellows, he moulded cattle of clay and they became alive; so with lions and leopards, too; he also took up a handful of earth and it became beans or millet. His fellows told Mwemmui of this and he was astonished. Then Mwemmui sent men to watch; they went early in the morning and hid themselves and watched; they watched him making all these things. Then they wanted to kill him, but the forefather of Mwakalukwa [another Kinga chief] gave him two cows; he was a friend and said: 'Leave the country, they want to kill you, take these cows and eat them on the road.' Lwembe went away with Kissmule and Mwamaloba (Mwamalungubo) and two wives and all his animals.

These three, Nkekete (1), Kyala (2), and Lwembe (3), were driven out by Mwemmui, but Lwembe's younger brothers, the BaMwalukisa (4), were left. When Lwembe went away, Mwemmui's men followed him, wishing to kill him, but they feared his animals, and did not try.

Nkekete (1) set out to the Lake [Nyasa] and went into a stream; he is in the water now, in a stream with pools near the Lake, in Kisi country. Kyala (2) went and built among stones in a cave. When the [177] Europeans came they took rifles and shot at Kyala in the place where he had built, so he moved to a different place. Of old he was in a cave washed by the waters of the Lake, but after the Europeans came he moved to his present cave at the boundary between Kimelelo's and Kisi country. Kyala had fowls there; some saw them in the old days [782] and some did not. Nkekete is in a stream with pools in it; there (at Lumbila in Kisi country) men sacrifice a cow. Kyala's sheep are killed near his cave.

Neither Nkekete nor Kyala had any children, but Lwembe (3), who went off alive, begot many children. We speak with them. Nkekete and Kyala were killed, Lwembe was not. . . . All the Kinga chiefs when praying in the sacred groves say the names of their fathers [782] who have died, and also the names of Nkekete, Kyala, and Lwembe, [769] in that order . . . Lwembe was the youngest of the three brothers . . . Nkekete and Kyala only made crops—millet and beans. We ask for fertility of the soil (*indumi*), and sunshine, and rain from them, but not animals. From Lwembe we ask for milk, and fertility of men and cattle, and snakes, and goats, and sheep, and all crops. Lwembe has everything. We ask for sunshine and rain from Lwembe as well.

When Lwembe went down into Selya he found the hill people (*BaMwamba*) and the people of the plain (Mwakyembe's men)[1] already there. They feared him because he had all things, and they still fear him. He was greater than Nkekete. They cut Nkekete's throat, but they couldn't kill Lwembe. He made the small lakes—all of them. He and Tutsi who established conquest states to the north-west.[1] 173

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[1] In other versions Mwakyembe is a descendant of Lwembe.

Whatever the origin and adventures of the heroes they were 773
important in Nyakyusa and Ngonde history because their [174]
graves became centres of religious ritual which linked together groups that were otherwise largely independent. The myths about them are the charter for chieftainship. They are depicted as benefactors who brought to uncivilized men not only the institution of chieftainship itself, but fire, cattle, iron, seed, and a creative power resident in their own bodies and those of their anointed heirs. But the myths also justify the power of commoners [778]
who first occupied the country and who have witchcraft in their [758]
bellies:

> The commoners whom Lwembe found here were extraordinary. They 539
> were cultivators, but they had not yet got fire, they ate their food raw. It was we chiefs, it was Lwembe, who brought fire and cattle—he came and found the original occupants without cattle; hence the commoners say, 'We are the earth'. Commoners are different from us physically, they are black; they are awe-inspiring, they are witches. Before you Europeans came the chiefs like Mwaipopo (116) were not [777]
> awe-inspiring, they feared the commoners very much; the commoners hammered the chief with their fists—yes, by daylight. And if the chief [758]
> cut a man's bananas that man took the chief's. If the commoners were [643]
> angry with Mwaipopo they fetched Mwangomo (124 whose chiefdom adjoins Mwaipopo's) at night by their witchcraft; he came in the night with his people and seized the cattle, both those of the chief, Mwaipopo, and those of the commoners. The next day the commoners said: 'It is we, we are angry. Why do you not look after us? Why do you not kill cattle for us?' Then Mwaipopo would kill two head of cattle and all the men in the country ate. . . . Mwaipopo and his equals were not awe-inspiring long ago, it is you Europeans who have created chieftainship and awe.

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[1] cf. H. H. Curson and R. W. Thornton, 'A Contribution to the Study of African Native Cattle', *Onderstepoort Journal of Veterinary Science and Animal Industry*, vii, 2, October 1936 (Government Printer, Pretoria). An analysis of the distribution and migration of breeds in Africa. [113]

H. B. Thomas and R. Scott, *Uganda* (1935), pp. 135 ff.

Fülleborn, *op. cit.*, pl. 68: 69.

M. Merker, *Die Masai*, pp. 157 ff., 1904, Berlin.

H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1904, pp. 86, 105 (early photographs of Nyoro cattle).

The short-horn type predominates among the Nyakyusa, but some animals suggest an intermixture with Sanga cattle. The hump is regarded as a great delicacy and is exaggerated in the clay cattle which boys model. Cf. Fülleborn, *op. cit.*, pl. 72. The similarity between the ritual and symbolism of the Nyakyusa and those of the Ganda as described by Roscoe is marked. J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, 1911. [291] [825] [512]

are remembered, and the names of the two senior wives of a chief 173
are often recited in genealogies because the heirs take *their* names 271
from their mothers, but she-who-taught-cooking is the only [562]
heroine in her own right.

It is worth noting also that the rituals of kinship are linked neither with the heroic tradition nor with primeval incest. We could trace no myths regarding their beginning, save that concerning the origin of avoidance between father and daughter-in-law. The myth of the origin of death is a variation on the theme, so familiar in Bantu-speaking Africa, of the two messengers (a sheep and a dog in this version) sent to men by 'Kyala', one promising life, the other death. It provides no charter for the ritual.

And what of the relation between myth and history? The
conquest of cultivators by cattle-keepers is the common theme [174]
of traditions in the lacustrine area, and it is quite possible that
small groups of invaders, who brought with them iron tools and [177]
weapons and cattle, established themselves as chiefs over small unorganized groups of hunters and cultivators in an isolated valley three or four centuries ago.[7] The Nyakyusa valley and the plain of Ngonde have no iron ore, and the inhabitants were dependent, until the coming of the Europeans, on iron (*ilyela*) smelted in the hills to the east for weapons and tools.[8] The original inhabitants are said to have used wooden hoes exclusively—such hoes were still in common use in 1938[9]—so the myth of a Lwembe sending to BuKinga for iron hoes has a firm foundation in historical fact. But that the original inhabitants of the valley did not know the use of fire 300 or 400 years ago (when Lwembe arrived) is incredible. Here the record of one of the greatest events in history is fitted into the shallow time-scale of an isolated people. To them it is not *when* fire arrived that is really important, but *who* brought it; chiefs are chiefs to the Nyakyusa (as to other peoples in Africa) by virtue of this great benefit they brought to men.

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[7] Nyamwanga tradition (recorded in the Mbozi District Book) tells of the introduction of iron fifteen generations ago. The Sangu tradition says that a tall, pale man from 'Somaliland' first brought iron spear-heads to Rufunga and his son established a hegemony by virtue of his superior weapons.

[8] cf. Monica Wilson, *Good Company*, p. 3. The iron deposits on the Livingstone
mountains have recently been investigated by the Colonial Development Corporation. [115]
A 'titaniferous iron concentrate' in the south of Njombe District was found to be 'workable'. *Tanganyika: Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners*, 1951, p. 50.

[9] Wilson, *op. cit.*, plate VIII.

773
775 It is surprising to westerners, whose whole framework of reference is shaped by the conception of historical time, that the heroic myth is not more explicitly dated by the volcanic eruptions known to have taken place near Lubaga,[1] but to the Nyakyusa the sequence of events does not appear important except in so far as it determines seniority.

[771] Nowadays, with the changing form of the society, there develops a new mythology. Kyala is described by younger men as a creator, apart and distinct from any hero or ancestor, and they reject any suggestion that he was once on a footing with Lwembe and Kyungu. The more conservative fit Christian names into the heroic myth. One version goes as follows:

> Kyala had two sons, Kyala the elder who was Mbasi or Satano, and Kyala the younger who was Jesus. Kyala the younger made corn, and cattle, and fire, and cooked meat, and men ate; then Mbasi or Satano was furious because his younger brother was outdoing him, and killed him, and became the only one.

Here the traditional theme of the jealousy of the senior is dominant, but generally it is the power of the heroes over fertility, under the old dispensation, that is stressed.

[787]
[777] Many people tell today of old prophecies concerning the coming of Europeans and of the triumph of a new religion. To the Christians these provide some bridge between the past and the present, for they interpret the words of pagan prophets as evidence of their foreknowledge of a truth they had not yet been taught.

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[773] [1] D. A. Harkin, 'The Rungwe Lava Flow, Kiejo, Rungwe District', *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, September 1955, suggests that the most recent eruption in the district, that of Kiejo, took place about 1800, but this conclusion is based on the description of the eruption by one man, and the statement that his great grandfather witnessed it. That some ancestor of Asulubile Kajigiri witnessed the eruption is likely, but had it taken place only three generations ago it might be expected that other families also would have had a tradition of the event. Kiejo is clearly visible from Mwaipopo's country and had the eruption taken place early in the nineteenth century either the chief Mwakagile (12) or his father Mwamukinga (23) must have observed it. Their descendants are emphatic that there is no tradition of their having done so, though it is commonly known that an eruption of Kiejo occurred in the distant past.

CHAPTER III

THE 'DIVINE KINGS'

(*a*) CHARACTERISTICS OF 'DIVINE KINGS'

THE heroic myths and genealogies proclaim the origin of chieftainship, and point to a distinction between ordinary chiefs and those we call 'divine kings'. Two remote ancestors who were preeminent are worshipped as heroes and creators, their graves are centres at which a large number of chiefdoms join in celebration, and living representatives are selected in every generation bearing their names. These are the 'divine kings', the Lwembe of Lubaga (in the centre of Nyakyusa country) and the Kyungu of Mbande near Karonga in Nyasaland. A third hero, Kyala, is associated with the cave, PaliKyala, near Ikombe at the north-east corner of the Lake, and he is worshipped in the same way as the other two, except that the priest of the cave is not his descendant and does not embody him. According to the myth, Kyala was the brother of Lwembe, but died without issue. However, the word for chiefs—*aba-nya-fyale*—is popularly believed to mean 'the sons of Kyala'.[1] 773 769 643

Kyala is one hero among others, but his name is *also* used in the sense of 'the lord': a chief is *kyala gwake* (his lord) to a commoner, a father is *kyala gwake* to his son or daughter 'because he created him' and a shade is *kyala* to his living kinsman (*unyala jo kyala*). Of one who performs a feat—something difficult—it is said 'he is Kyala'.[2] This usage is said to be very old, but there is yet another meaning of the word which is new. *Kyala* was used by the European missionaries (who first established themselves near PaliKyala) as their translation of 'God'. Today these three conceptions are inextricably mixed: Kyala the hero, Kyala 'the 769 643 [775] [777] [797]

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[1] I am indebted to the Reverend Paul Fuerer for drawing my attention to this point. It is doubtful whether *Kyala* and *fyale* in fact come from the same root. *Fyale* in Hehe means the daughter of a chief (A. G. O. Hodgson, 'Some Notes on the Wahehe of Mahenge District', *J.R.A.I.*, lvi (1926), p. 40). In Bena [illegible] means 'my husband's father or mother' (A. T. and G. M. Culwick, *Ubena of the Rivers*, p. 198). In Ganda *nabakyala* means 'lady', mistress of a household and garden (J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 44). cf. Nyika, *fyala* 'to beget, to bear' (J. L. Krapf and J. Rebmann, *A Nyika-English Dictionary*, edited by T. H. Sparshott, 1887). [192]

[2] cf. F. R. Lehmann, 'Some field notes on the Nyakyusa', *Sociologus*, New Series, 1951, vol. 1, p. 66. [113]

769 lord', and Kyala the Christian deity. In the sacrifices at Lubaga 643 and the groves of various chiefs, the name Kyala was mentioned repeatedly, as will be shown. Some may interpret this as evidence of a traditional belief in an overriding deity. We think that in most cases it is used in the sense of Kyala the hero, or Kyala 'the lord', but after forty years[1] and more of missionary activity it is not possible to establish exactly what the traditional conception of Kyala was. Moreover, it will be obvious that many of the speakers quoted in later chapters now entertain religious notions which [177] have been unconsciously, and sometimes profoundly, modified by Christian ideas, a phenomenon especially noteworthy in their references to Kyala.

All the Nyakyusa proper (that is those of Selya, the Lake plain, 769 and Masoko) send cattle to sacrifice at Lubaga (the grove of 772 Lwembe), and several of the Kinga chiefs send there too. The people of Ngonde send to the Kyungu at Mbande, but not to Lubaga, while the people living north of the Songwe did not ever send to Mbande. Some of the people of the Lake plain (Mu-Ngonde) and various Kinga chiefs send to PaliKyala as well as to Lubaga, but the hill people never send to PaliKyala, nor did the Kisi who lived around PaliKyala send to Lubaga. In other words, Lwembe and Kyala were 'brothers' and it was possible to sacrifice to both, though people living close to one centre did not send to the other. All those living south of the Songwe river looked to Mbande; those north of it to Lubaga or PaliKyala. Lwembe, Kyala, and Kyungu were ancestors, honoured primarily by their own descendants or by those of a brother, but they were also divine heroes who might be appealed to by unrelated people through their priests.

The distinction between a 'divine king' and an early ancestor who established a line of chiefs is not a sharp one, and we have indeed been uncertain whether or not to class Mwangomale (4K),[2] the founder (or at least a notable son) of the Kukwe line, with Lwembe and Kyungu. Sacrifices used to be made to Mwangomale at the grove of Kabale by a number of Kukwe chiefs, but we have no evidence either of the formal installation of a living representative in each generation or of sacrifices by unrelated people, and therefore do not include Mwangomale among the 'divine kings'. The early inhabitants of the Rungwe

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[1] Field-work began in 1934.

[2] Numerals followed by K refer to the genealogy of Kukwe chiefs facing p. 43.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1959

FN17 Ngonde FN17

Nyakyusa

643 784 round him and sit at home in the middle in the sun. . . . All the old chiefs inspired fear (*kopela*). It used to be taboo to walk near the house of a chief and approach him unless taken by a village headman . . . nowadays men walk about and enter his house and ● [77] even steal his food."[1] The power came partly from his position as the living Lwembe, and partly from the medicines with which he was treated, especially the terrible *ifingila*.

643 [554] The 'divine king' who came as a conqueror bringing iron is also associated with victory in battle. Still today a brave fighter is saluted as 'Lwembe', and an iron spear is one of the emblems of chieftainship.

The Lwembe was himself a priest—he is often referred to as 643 793 782 *nyago*—but he was assisted by commoners. There is a hereditary keeper of the grove of Lubaga named Kisanda who is the descendant of that Kisanda the commoner who fled from BuKinga with Lwembe. It is he who conducts the sacrifices, who daubs the participants with medicines before they enter, and who protects the groves. 'If by mistake the grove was a little burnt then the people have paid a beast to Kisanda, it was his to eat as he liked.' Others of the priests say that Lwembe found their ancestors at Lubaga; they are 'owners of the soil' there, and one of them, Mwaseni, could give us the names of six generations of ancestors who had been priests of Lubaga before him. But the bulk of the commoner priests are not hereditary at all, they are surviving village headmen (or their heirs) of the most recently dead Lwembe.

The success of the sacrifices at Lubaga was held to depend upon the proper co-operation of chiefs and priests: first, on the Lwembe himself (the shortage of food among the Kinga, and of milk among the Nyakyusa, while we were there, was attributed by Kasitile to the fact that there was no living Lwembe); secondly on the commoner priests of Lubaga; thirdly on the commoner Kinga priests; fourthly on Kasitile (II) and certain other priests of Selya; and fifthly on the chiefs of the Nyakyusa and the Kinga who provided the offerings. 'Can a priest celebrate alone?' said Kasitile. 'No, the ritual depends on the chiefs.' The celebrations thus linked together chiefs and people, as well as Kinga and Nyakyusa, and numerous different Nyakyusa chiefdoms. The hereditary Kinga priests live in the country of the Kinga chief Mwakalukwa and

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[1] This is inconsistent with Kasitile's statement quoted above. The general opinion was that chiefs were more powerful than formerly, but the living Lwembe less so.

778 Lwembe, and the grove of the first Lwembe himself, the last being
782 the most sacred. In it stands a miraculous tree from which, the priests aver, sometimes comes sap like water, and sometimes blood. 'If it is watery there will be a plague of ulcers in the country—
[753] running sores—if it is blood there will be dysentery. But as soon
[755] as the hoes are placed in the grove, or the black bull is killed, then the sick begin to recover.'

Godfrey Wilson attended three celebrations at Lubaga, and we
788 heard of five others which occurred during our period of fieldwork. The ritual is esoteric, that is to say, only the representatives of Lwembe and his priests participate, and the details are not revealed to others, but its occurrence is widely known and discussed among older men.

The celebrations observed were modified by the fact that no one
[643] had been installed as Lwembe since the death of Mwakisisya
[793] (56) before 1914. The possible candidates whom the priests had wished to instal had refused—'they feared the grove'; the only
[177] one who was said to be willing was rejected on account of his character. The priests gave 'European times' as the reason for there being no Lwembe. 'When the country was ours before you Europeans came' the elected candidate was compelled to accept office. On the death of Mwakisisya, the Kinga priests ordered that his senior son Mwanjala I (77) should take his place, and when Mwanjala I died (three years after his father) his full brother Mwanjala II (78) succeeded. He took a leading part in the rituals observed, but was not an anointed Lwembe. The priests explained: 'We fear, thinking that if a chief is seized [and compelled to sit on the stool] he will complain to the Government and we shall be punished.' During the period of German rule they had been threatened with imprisonment if they continued the ritual . . . 'we feared and stole through the country by night'. . . . And there is still much secrecy about its truncated celebration. Since the journey down 'the road of Lwembe' with the drum traditionally involved human sacrifice, and the Lwembe was smothered when ailing, there is an absolute incompatibility between a full celebration of the ritual and European administration.

The influence of the Christian minority is also considerable. The
177 view of most Nyakyusa Christians with whom we discussed
788 communal rituals is that they used to be efficient, but are so no longer, since men have been taught a better way of approaching God. 'God said: "They are mistaken but in their hearts they are

looking for me", and so if there was much heat he would send rain.' But this no longer happens. (77) 788

At the same time both pagans and Christians tell a myth of how a European missionary, Rev. — Jauer (Mwaisumo), who visited the grove of Lubaga intending to remove the hoes in the grove to demonstrate the falsehood of the ritual, was confounded by a miracle (*ijiko*). (771) (789)

Once the missionary Mwaisumo wished to go and see the grove of Lubaga. He was warned that if he entered he would flee because there were many marvels there, and the rain would catch him. He said: 'Oh, I shall go, nothing will happen.' So he went and entered the grove, and he found many hoes, some standing up, some lying down, and some of them had 'eyes'. He seized one to take it away, then there was a crash of thunder, and he was afraid and fled. When he ran out of the grove the rain fell in torrents. It is said that he was so frightened he left his jacket behind. From that time people said that indeed there are miracles at Lubaga. 519

'European times' is given as the reason for sacrifices being less frequent and regular than formerly. The occasions were, and still are: any period of hunger or scarcity, such as the Kinga regularly experience during the dry season, and the Nyakyusa also complain of at that time; any irregular misfortune such as a failure of the rains, a plague of locusts or an epidemic; and any prediction of hunger or disease by a prophet (*umalafi* or *unkungulukulu*). But the chiefs are said to be more reluctant to provide the cattle for sacrifice than formerly, and less quickly influenced by the actual occurrence of hunger or by prophecy that famine is imminent. Nevertheless they still 'treat the earth' (*ukutendekelaga ensi*) by sending a black cow to Lubaga when hunger presses. 782 (777)

According to Kasitile (86) and Mwasomakonda (his fellow priest) no ritual could be performed in the grove of the first Lwembe when he had no living representative. Formerly, the Kisanda in office and another priest penetrated alone, and there bound a live sheep and left it to bleat until a python took it. 'It is Kyala, he turns himself into a python' (*Jo kyala: ijoka ate*). Here Kasitile used *kyala* in the sense of 'the lord' and he was referring to Lwembe. According to another informant, when the heir to any priesthood connected with Lubaga is installed he should sleep in the grove enclosed in a stout wicker hut, and remain there until the python of the grove comes and licks him. The case was cited of a priest who had lain captive for two weeks 643 793 782

782 children, not the married ones with wives. Kisunde and I both
796 have our children anointed now.'

[793] This ritual was not complete because Mwanjala shirked the [693] crucial act of remaining in the grove until a python licked him. [793] The Kinga priests were continually nagging at the Nyakyusa for their failure to provide an acceptable Lwembe, but it is doubtful [177] whether in 1935 Mwanjala II would have been acceptable to any of them since he was old and ailing. It was Mwakilima (111) that men wanted and he steadily refused to be installed.

[787] The next ritual observed at Lubaga was in March 1937. An ordinary commoner of Selya (not a priest) named Kijaja had been prophesying repeatedly: 'I do not sleep, you will not eat the crops you hoe if you do not go to Lubaga.' He was taken to his village headman and thence to the chief Mwaihojo (147) who finally, two years after he had begun prophesying, agreed to find a bull. Word then came to Kasitile (86) who notified the commoner priests of chief Mwaipopo (116) and sent a message to the priests of Lubaga. Kasitile (86), together with three other priests of Selya (Mwalukota, Nyama, Mwamakonda) and Godfrey Wilson, set off early one morning from Kasitile's house to take the bull (brown streaked with black, called *ngombe indele*) to Lubaga. On the way they called in at Munyoso's house, where the Kinga stop on their journey to pour a libation of beer (*vide supra*, p. 27). Kasitile asked Munyoso, 'Shall the bull enter?' and he replied, 'Yes, let it come into the house', so it was tied up inside while the party talked with Munyoso. He was sick and did not want to accompany them. The others pressed him, and at first he refused. Whereupon Mwalukota said: 'Very well, then, we are at your place, let the bull return and we will go another day', in other words, refusing to go without him. 'No, that is taboo,' said [784] Kasitile, 'once the bull has faced towards Lubaga and entered a house here it is taboo for it to turn back. The shades will be angry.' And so Munyoso went with them.

On the way they passed a group of men hoeing hard. One of them called out: 'Where are you going with that bull? Where are you off enjoying yourselves?' 'Ah, you fellows,' answered Kasitile, 'do you ask where we are going? We visit where our fathers always did.' They understood at once. 'Oh thank you, thank you,' they cried. 'You,' went on Kasitile, 'do you call that work? Are you growing your own food? No, you lie still and eat without effort. It is we who exert ourselves for you' (implying

instructed us, you have taught us the customs, we did not know 782
them, we thought that when the food came that was all.' 796

Kasitile said: 'Yes, I do it as our fathers did it.' Then they discussed the dispute between Mwakisisya and Kasitile and agreed that Kasitile had got the better of Mwakisisya with the reference to his own reluctance to provide cattle for sacrifice.

Kasitile was determined to extract a cow for sacrifice from the chief Mwaipopo (116) also, and presently he said:

> Friends, listen, let us report at home that we used hard words, we insulted Mwakisisya, we said there is nothing left to eat though we are not really starving. What has come over me? Why am I ill? Let Mwaipopo pay a cow.

The following day Mwamalongoka, one of the priests of Lubaga, explained what was meant by the complaint of insults from Selya:

> The people of Mwaipopo (116) do really insult us, and since the [177]
> Europeans have given them a Court they have begun to say that
> Mwakisisya (111) is a priest, not a chief, but just an old priest (*nyago*), [578]
> and we his men are all angry to hear this because Mwakisisya was always the senior. And they do not send us cattle to sacrifice, they say: 'It's European times now, all that is finished.'

But of Kasitile's retort that Mwakisisya himself did not listen to his priests at home, Mwamalongoka said: 'Indeed it is so, that was an excellent reply.'

The party going up to Lubaga and back travelled dry, but on the return journey Kasitile noticed that the road was wet and he remarked, 'The rain follows us again', and it was true, clouds were gathering quickly. An hour and a half after they got home heavy rain began and continued for three or four hours. During the preceding weeks there had been many heavy showers and bright spells, unnoticed and of no particular significance, but the downpour on the day of the sacrifice was immediately connected with it.

Three weeks later the rain had almost stopped and people were 769
talking of drought. Kasitile was quick to link this with the failure
to follow up the offering at Lubaga with sacrifices in the groves of 782
the chiefs. On the sixth of April he spoke his mind to Mwam- 796
bapata, the senior village headman of Mwaipopo, when both were visiting us.

> Where is the rain? [said Kasitile] I am at fault, and my child Mwaipopo (116) also. He ought to provide a cow to kill at Mwaijonga's

782 black and white) animals are killed, with the same symbolism as
793 in BuKinga.[1] 'We kill a white sheep in the dry season that the
[788] sun may shine—if we killed a black sheep in summer the wet
season would last all the year.'

The Kinga pray for fertility of the fields, that illness may pass, that they 'may sleep at home'; the local people[2] for fertility of the fields and that the pots they make (and on the sale of which they largely depend) may not crack in the firing. The more distant chiefdoms of the Nyakyusa plain sacrifice only in drought or plague—the last sacrifice remembered was during a plague of locusts about 1915, but the Kinga chief Kyelela sent a cow in PaliKyala in July 1937.

Like the grove of Lubaga, Kyala's cave is fearful. There is a
778 story of two men who took a length of creeper from near it to tie
689 up their canoe, and when they got home both went mad. Godfrey
Wilson's guide, a young Christian, refused to enter the cave on the grounds that his pagan half-brother had once entered and taken away a potsherd and 'when he got home he went mad'.

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[177]
[1] Merensky appears to have been misinformed on this point, op. cit., pp. 911-2.

[323]
[2] The potters are primarily Kisi, but neighbouring Nyakyusa have taken to this lucrative trade.

ince the 'coming out' of his sons spelt not only retirement, but 643
peedy death to a chief, he was not unnaturally reluctant to
ten it and, we were told, chiefs would try to defer it, but were
ssed by their village headmen to celebrate, and had eventually
accept their advice. Indeed we heard of one chief whose illness [753]
attributed to the 'breath' of his men, angry because he
sed to hold the 'coming out' which was due.
Nowadays the situation is radically altered by the fact that chiefs
tinue to live long after the 'coming out' of their sons, and the
ministration treats the old chief as the sole authority, so the
men find good reasons for not holding the celebration at all.
Before the ritual there is much speculation and excitement
oughout the chiefdom, and private discussions between the old
ef and his village headmen about suitable candidates for office.
ey look for men of wisdom (*amahala*),[1] skilled in settling dis- [183]
es, modest (for boastfulness is judged intolerable in a Nyakyusa [571]
-village as it is in an English public school), and given to
pitality. A leader must feed his men and to do so he requires to
relatively wealthy, therefore the poor have little chance of
ce.
When the old men are agreed among themselves they summon 643
the young men to the capital. They come dancing and swagger- 622
with all their cattle, and there the old headmen seize, one by 796
, those they have chosen as village headmen for the next
eration, beginning with the senior headman for each heir, then
second senior for each, and so on. Usually eight are chosen,
r for each young chief. We get a glimpse of what it means to
individual in the following statement by the second headman
the chief, Korusu (173):

> ade fire at the 1930 'coming out'. I can't tell much because we [77]
> o were caught were in fear and trembling. I knew beforehand,
> cause my brother was told to come from Ipyana [mission], but he
> a Christian and the missionaries refused to allow him to become a
> age headman—they feared the medicines. He ran away and came
> e—he wanted to be a headman and the old men wanted him, but
> n he changed his mind and went off to be a soldier, and so they
> k me.

Probably word of who have been chosen as village headmen

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[1] For a discussion of the concept of *amahala*, cf. Monica Wilson, *Good Company*, pp.
[illegible]

622 He, like many of his men, may have been married long before the
643 'coming out', but his ritual wedding to the mothers of his heirs
796 follows it, and from the time of his seclusion, until his marriage,
585 he, and all his men, should live as bachelors. The brides are
chosen by his village headmen and in theory they are carried off
by force, whether betrothed or not, but nowadays, since the
[177] Administration discountenances forced marriages, the headmen
arrange matters with the girls' families beforehand, very privately,
but still they come with a show of force to carry off the brides.
Girls are chosen who are approaching puberty and they are taken
to the house of a commoner contemporary of their future husband.
There they live until both have grown up and the puberty ritual
can be celebrated. It follows the usual course except that the
[564] neighbours of the man in whose house the brides are secluded
play the part of the girls' families, cooking for the groom's party
at the prescribed feasts. The chief washes with both girls, thereby
acknowledging them as his senior wives; the marriage bed is
prepared with medicines and there is great rejoicing. The following morning someone knocks at the door of the nuptial chamber
crying: 'War has come', and the chief and his brides rush out to
the pasture land, just as the parents of twins do at the end of their
ritual.[1] Then[2] a long narrow stone (*ulufiga*) is set with medicines
[796] in the earth, beside the chief's trees as a symbol of his marriage
(*[illegible]*) to the mothers of his heirs. 'The stone is the
chief' (*ilifiga ili jo malafyale*). Hearth-bricks (*amafiga*) are then set
up for each bride with medicines buried beneath them, and they
are given fire from that ritually kindled by their husband and
his headman. Finally they are given medicines to drink in order
to develop in them 'the dignity of chief's wives' (*[illegible]*).

No marriage is complete, in Nyakyusa eyes, until cattle have
643 been handed over, and though the chief's brides have been carried
583 off by force, cattle—more than double the normal number—are
given to their fathers. The village headmen of the retiring generation should provide these cattle and they or their heirs are recompensed when the eldest daughters born of the two wives are

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[1] cf. Monica Wilson, *Rituals of Kinship*, pp. 158, 169.

[2] [illegible]'s marriage apparently preceded the planting of his trees and the phallic stone was erected at the same time as the trees were planted, but the marriages of the sons of [illegible] *followed* the planting of their trees. The order of events seems to vary, and differences are explained as due to the order of the doctor in charge of the ritual. 'Different doctors have different customs.'

791 said just to become aware of future events without any dream.

787 *Abalangulala* are distinguished from those who suffer from fits or fall into trances (*abalam' amalago*), but a woman in a trance may also prophesy and induce the chief and priests to celebrate a ritual, for it is thought that she too is in communication with the shades. Men say 'The shade has entered her' or 'Kyala catches hold of her that she may speak of the matter'. This type of prophecy is something new among the Nyakyusa. Mwandisi (107) told us that 'it [777] did not exist in BuKinga whence we came', but had been introduced from the south, through Ngonde, and it is mainly confined to women, whereas the *abalangulala* are men.

787 There are many tales of famous prophecies. Nsamba (90) claimed that his father (63) foretold that 'there will come a white thing on the Lake, and it will land on the shore. That will be the man who will make peace', and Mwakalinga (142) who died fighting the Germans is said to have foretold his own death.[1]

Dreams and revelations of the possessed concerning public matters are reported to the local village headman and referred to the other headmen and priests, and a prophecy is accepted as valid only after formal discussion. As we shall see, Kasitile was sceptical about the revelations of one man who was repeatedly 'possessed', perhaps because he threatened to become a rival in interpreting public misfortune. If there is doubt, suspicions are confirmed or problems elucidated, by divination.

769 782 When they judged a sacrifice necessary the village headman and priests went to their chief saying, 'We do not sleep', and it was his obligation to secure an animal for sacrifice. He might provide it out of his own herd, but very often the duty of 'finding' sacrificial cattle was delegated to a junior line—the ruling chief gave cattle to a younger brother charging him and his heirs with the function of providing sacrificial cattle when necessary. Today [777] [643] all the chiefs are reluctant to expend cattle on rituals whose validity is questioned, and there is often friction between the senior and junior lines over who should 'find' the cow or bull required. Their reluctance is illustrated by the following passage from Godfrey Wilson's diary:

Mwaya (on the lake shore): 22/10/34

It is still stormy; there has been wind and heavy rain for four days. People are saying: 'We are hungry. It is very bad. We need light rain for planting, but now all the fields are muddy, we can neither hoe nor plant.' Five days ago there was no rain but locusts, and people did not plant for fear lest the locusts should eat the rice and maize as it sprouted. Kisunde tells me: 'Kyala is very angry. . . . Mwandisi (107, the priest-chief) wants to pray to put things right, he has sent Mwakalukosya to ask Mwakisisile (170, the ruling chief) for a cow. Mwakalukosya and Mwakalobo went and the chief agreed saying: "I have not got one now, but I will look for one!" Then Mwakalukosya sent me (Kisunde) to fetch it, but the chief refused saying: "I am busy now." Then Mwandisi (107), who is blind and infirm, went himself, but still there is no cow.' 769 782 [177] [443]

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[1] According to Mr. Harkin's informant the Rungwe eruption was foretold a year before it occurred. *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 40 (1955), p. 20.

The priests who minister to dead chiefs, like the priests of Lubaga, are of different types. The senior village headmen of a dead chief are responsible for conducting sacrifices at his grove in co-operation with his heir, and when a headman dies his office is taken over by his heir. Where a grove is much honoured this continues for generations and the heirs of one of the village headmen become hereditary keepers of the grove, each incumbent of the office assuming his name. Secondly, there are chiefs of a junior line, who become hereditary priests on whom the ruling chiefs depend for their prayers, but these priest-chiefs do not actually attend the sacrifices; the celebration is delegated to commoner priests and junior kinsmen. Mwandisi (107) mentioned above, Kasitile (86) and Nsamba (90) were all priest-chiefs of this sort. Kasitile prayed at his own home, blowing out water before any celebration in Mwaipopo's country, and he was given the chine of any animal sacrificed on behalf of the country. If this were not done 'all the cattle in the country would die . . . it is the most important part of the meat'. The commoner priests who conducted the ritual always shared the head of the sacrificial beast and the breast went to the chief. With priest-chiefs, as with commoner chiefs, the name of the first incumbent of the office (or an early and famous incumbent) may become a hereditary title, e.g. three generations of priests in Selya have been known as *Kasitile*. 793 622 769

The essential elements in the ritual are: the sacrifice of a black bull or cow in the grove; the offering up of the blood and pieces of the sacred meat from the forelegs, together with the beer, on the earth close to a sacred stone and near a sacred tree; an invocation calling on the shades to come and feast, and petitions for rain, fertility, and health. One piece of meat is thrown down for 769 782

769 Mwalukuta, the hereditary priest of Mbyanga, had been pressing
782 the chiefs to sacrifice for some time. He had sent messengers in
March, April, May, and again in July, saying: 'At Mbyanga
things have gone back, it is bad, see hunger kills!' At last, in
August, Mwaihojo agreed to provide a cow if Mwaitende of the
junior line finally refused. Mwalukuta, the priest of the grove, ex-
[793] plained:

> We went to Mwaitende (101, identified with his grandfather 61) and
> asked him to sacrifice. He said: 'No, I am not coming; do the work
> there at Mbyanga yourselves.' We said: 'Why do you refuse to come,
> to return a cow? Our grandfathers gave you a cow, why don't you
> return it? They gave you cows on the understanding that you would
> bring them back, one by one, and kill them in the sacred grove here.
> Why do you refuse to return them?' It has always been the custom for
> the junior brothers to find cows for sacrifice. Their seniors give them
> wealth and appoint them priests to bring cattle to the sacred grove.
> [177] But in European times they refuse to come, each man kills at his own
> place. . . . I must go and tell Kasitile (86) and also Kilalaka, or rather
> his son—the father refuses to come he had a lawsuit with Kasitile. . . .
> Kilalaka used to kill the cow, then Kasitile said Makuli should kill
> the cow, but now Makuli has refused to come so I go to fetch Kilalaka
> [the younger]. Makuli was a chief who ate the meat. . . . Mwaitende
> (61) used to send the cow to him and Mwakaseko to bring to Mbyanga
> . . . as he now refuses to send the cow they say: 'What should we
> bring?' and have refused to come here.

There had been another spell of cold weather and the tempera-
[132] ture on the night of 8th August was down to 59° F., but fine
weather was visibly approaching from the Lake. On the 9th the
ritual was to have been held, but not everyone had been formally
summoned and it was put off to the 10th.

Only eight men came, Mwalukuta I, the priest of the grove,
[793] and his younger brother Mwalukuta II, two other priests (Nyama
and Mwakasukule) and Mwakyonde (148), younger brother of
Mwaihojo the chief who provided the cow, and three other
young men of the chief's lineage. One of the young chiefs was
[291] wearing a red cloth and was scolded by Mwakyonde for doing so:
'It's taboo in the sacred grove.' 'Why?' 'Because it's like a rain-
bow.'[1] And he took it off.

The mother of Nyama brought a bundle of saplings for building the hut for the shade, and Kisale, the senior wife of Mwaihojo the and cup is because this food is sacrificed to their fathers-in-law. Those who are not sons of Ngumale do not drink the sacrificial beer or eat the meat either, because they are of other lineages. A black cow is used in the grove because groves are always fearful and darkness falls if something improper is done. So it is said that the blackness of the cow matches the fearfulness ([illegible]) of the grove. 764 782 [778] [784] [825]

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[1] The rainbow is a symbol of misfortune, cf. p. 60.

Besides the sacrifices at Kabale and to their more immediate ancestors, Kukwe chiefs sent offerings to the BaNgumba, earlier occupants of the country. Mwamusula explained:

> My grandfather prayed in the grove which is across the river on mission land, in the forest; it was the grove of us BaNgumba; we were owners of the soil, the Kukwe chiefs found us here. If ever a chief sent my grandfather and his fellows to pray there they went with an unripe stem of bananas, and sweet milk, and unripe maize, and small sweet potatoes; then they prayed and came home again and the next day, when they went to look they found the stem of bananas had ripened, the maize had hardened, the milk was thick and the sweet potatoes large; everything which was unripe had ripened. Then they said Kyala [that is Kyala and the shades] had stood by us. . . . We spoke of Kyala even before the Europeans had come. . . .[1]
>
> They say that very long ago we BaNgumba, we sons of Kasyapala, had not yet got fire, the chiefs brought it. It is this they commemorate in the 'coming out' ritual. We, the owners of the soil, were always here, the chiefs came and built, and when others came the [illegible] fled. They are like you Europeans who fight wars; we owners of the soil think only of hoeing. [173]

(e) MODERN CHANGES

It is quite clear that, though sacrifices to the heroes and at the groves of chiefs were still made while we were among the Nyakyusa (and more frequently than our friends at first admitted), the cycle was attenuated. Not only had human sacrifice probably ceased but the chiefs were reluctant to part with cattle. . . . Kasitile (88) said one day: 764 782 177

> Since you [Europeans] came into the country the rituals have disappeared. Mwaipopo (118) never thinks of the rituals now. . . . It is cold and there is hunger; I went to Mwaipopo and told him to tell his

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[1] *According to the records of the first missionaries, sacrifices on Rungwe were to Mbamba but the same passage refers to Mbamba or Kyala meaning God. It is not clear whether the two names were equated by Kukwe informants or by the missionary himself, who was in touch with missionaries elsewhere in the district. (Journal de l'Unité des Frères, 1894.) I am indebted to the Reverend Paul Fueter for drawing my attention to this valuable Journal.*

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priests to sacrifice to his father and elder brother so that fertility may return and men may eat sweet potatoes, but he does nothing.

777
A conversation between Kasitile and Mwaisumo, his fellow priest (vide p. 76), was also instructive on this point:

> The soil has changed, we are not like those of old, we are different. Mwakilumalilwe (30) had power; when he prayed the thunder crashed and rain fell in torrents. In the old days when the Kinga came they came with drums and we all feared them, what they said was done—they did not have to say much—just a few words and it was done. But now they spend all their time explaining things and talking and we do not do anything. . . .
>
> MWAISUMO: I have sent people time and again to Mwaijonde (?) for a cow, but he just insults us. . . . I have asked Mwaihojo (142) about celebrating. . . .
>
> KASITILE: What did he say?
>
> MWAISUMO: I don't know . . . if he is wise . . .
>
> KASITILE (breaking in): Well, you had better admit that the chiefs do not support you—the chiefs say: 'It is European times now.'
>
> G.W.: What do they fear? The Government does not affect the ritual, does it?
>
> KASITILE: They are unwilling to part with the cows which I take for sacrifice, they do not like to lose their cows. In the old days they feared, and when we said: 'We do not sleep, celebrate in the grove', they agreed quickly, for they feared that we, their men, would move to another chiefdom.

(5) THE FIRST FRUITS

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[241]
[774]
[778]
No communal ritual of the first fruits is celebrated among the Nyakyusa as in Ngonde,[1] but after the millet harvest a little grain is collected from every homestead and later brewed into beer which is offered to the shades of the chief. In Mwaipopo's country the offerings of millet were collected by the priest, Ngulya, who, with his colleagues Kisagula and Njobakema, took it to Kalinga, senior widow of the late chief (113). She was custodian of a sacred pot inherited by the chief from his predecessors, in which the offerings of millet are stored, and this is the pot which, according to some informants, also contained the power of growth—the nails and hair torn from the dead chief (vide supra, pp. 64-5). When the new crop was reaped Kalinga almost emptied the pot, refilled it with the fresh grain, and brewed beer with the old. There had once been a sacred winnowing basket used in preparing the beer, but

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[1] Godfrey Wilson, *The Constitution of Ngonde*, p. 46.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959

FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

Note

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Chiefdoms do not have names which continue indefinitely. They are referred to by the name of the ruling chief or one of his illustrious ancestors, and often several different names are in common use for one chiefdom. To simplify the map we have assigned a number to each chiefdom held by a segment of the Nyakyusa or Kukwe lineages (*vide* genealogies, pp. 3, 17), and these numbers are plotted on the map. The map is based on that of Mr. R. de Z. Hall (sometime D.C., Tukuyu) and includes all, or almost all, the Nyakyusa and Kukwe chiefdoms recognized by the Administration.[1] The Penja, Nyiha, Ndali, Lambya, and Safwa chiefdoms on the fringes of the valley are indicated, but not plotted. The map does *not* include all chiefdoms recognized in some fashion by the Nyakyusa themselves, e.g. Mwakungula (178) 'came out' in 1933 and has been established at some distance from his elder brother with his own senior headman, but he is not recognized by the Administration as a chief and therefore his domain is not included on the map as a separate chiefdom.

● [177] [1] Two names listed by Mr. Hall are omitted, Ali Bin Omari because he is an immigrant and Mwakalinga of [illegible] because he is the son of a commoner appointed as headman by the German Administration, and not a member of either royal lineage.

9:Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959

FN17 Ngonde FN17

Nyakyusa

fashion. Each village is occupied by an age-set and men are 96/ emphatic that age and friendship, not kinship, are the basis of a 56/ village, but the villages of fathers, sons, and grandsons commonly, 63/ though not invariably, adjoin one another, as Bujege, Igembe, and Lupando, or Lupando, Njisi, and Iringa in Mwaipopo's chiefdom [602] (*vide* plan, p. 101). Each section of a chiefdom comprises half the ruling generation, and interspersed with their villages are those of their fathers and sons. Men are identified by the name of their village, section, and chief; the village name defines their age-set, the name of section and chief their generation. The section name is always that of the senior village which leads it. Generation succeeds generation in office when their heirs 'come out', but the relative position of villages (age-sets) within a generation remains constant. Since chiefdoms traditionally split each generation at the 'coming out' the men of the retired generation who remained belonged to one section only; those of the other section of their generation were members of another chiefdom. The territorial arrangements reflected in the plan of Mwaipopo's chiefdom on p. 101 are modified by the fact that the chiefdom has not split for four generations. In generation I Kilosole was the [173] portion of the junior heir, Mwafungo (83), but he died young and his land and widow were inherited by the senior brother, Mwaijonga (80). The son of this leviratical union, Mwakipesile (118), went through the 'coming out' in generation II along with Mwaijonga's heirs, Ijonga (114, representing her full brother 115), and Mwakalobile (117). Mwakipesile inherited Kilosole and Mwakalobile inherited Kituli, but both were later defeated in war by Mwaipopo II and their land incorporated in his chiefdom. Mwakipesile's heir, Likampila, and Mwakalobile remained as subordinate chiefs. Though the girl Ijonga celebrated the 'coming [716] out' in place of her unborn brother she could not rule, [643] and Mwaisweja, son of Mwaijonga II (younger full brother of 80) acted for her. He was finally defeated by Mwaipopo II and fled to the periphery of the country. Kabula was his village, and he was subordinate to Mwaipopo, not independent.

In generation III the chiefdom did not split because by that 177 time the British administration was in control, and the territorial 63/ division remained much the same, Igembe and Njisi becoming 561 the senior villages in place of Bujege and Lupando, with Mwankuga (130) and Mwaseba (132) as the young chiefs. Kilosole, 177 631 561 Kitali, and Kabula still remained somewhat detached. In generation IV the second heir, Mwakangale (178), has moved out to the forest and the area occupied and ruled by Mwaijonga and Mwaipopo is still one, with a division between Lupando and Iringa. Kibonde is fully absorbed into Lupando, and Kitali and Kabula into Iringa—no descendants of Mwakipesile of Kibonde and Mwakabole of Kitali went through the 'coming out' with Mwanyila as chief. Kibonde, Kitali, and Kabula are subdivided into age-villages of three generations, but these are not shown on the plan. They are spoken of by outsiders by the inclusive names.

561 428 To a European the most surprising fact about the age-organization is that a young man of the ruling generation may still choose to move into the homestead of his deceased father or elder brother. We knew one young man, who had been spoken of as a possible village headman at the coming out of Mwanyila, but shortly before the 'coming out' he chose to move into the homestead of his deceased father in Lupando village (where his father in turn had inherited) even though he might have inherited his father's wealth in wives and stock and returned to his own village of Msasko, after completing the ritual of death and inheritance. Our informants insisted that, though the young men might rule, the older generation were the more honoured, and in inheriting from his father this man was classified as a member of his father's generation. Nevertheless many young men do *not* choose to move into the village of the father or elder brother from whom they inherit, and the villages of old men decrease in size and finally disappear altogether.

602 361 166 561 631 The relation between kinship and territorial grouping cannot easily be indicated by plans and genealogies for though in theory each village consists of 'sons' of a village of the previous generation (as shown in the table facing p. 91) there is considerable movement from one village to another, and the members of any adult village usually prove to have come from a number of different villages, though a boy's village consists of sons of adjoining villages. The table of members of three of the villages of Mwaipopo's chiefdom illustrates this (*vide* pp. 224-6). An analysis of genealogies showing where different members live gives much the same picture. Though the shortage of land in the coffee-growing chiefdoms of the hills and the rice-growing chiefdoms of the plain is tending to obliterate the age-village organization, the old

631 782 north the Nyakyusa were continually at war; they did not trade or pray with them. Thus we conclude that participation in a [721] common ritual is, in the Nyakyusa case, directly linked with a common origin and essential trade.

643 The divine kings, Lwembe and Kyungu, were regarded as having power over certain areas, a power closely linked with [789] rainfall. Indeed, one informant argued that the chiefs living [782] around Masoko had never sent sacrifices to Lubaga, 'because when it rains at Lubaga the rain does not come as far as Masoko'. He [821] was mistaken in his facts—the chiefs of Masoko did at one time send to Lubaga as Mwambebete (160), chief at Masoko, himself admitted—but the argument points to a conception of supernatural power tied to a rainfall area. This notion was not, however, applied consistently.

645 173 The balance between secular and mystical power has altered during the past ten generations. The founding heroes, Lwembe and Kyungu, came as conquerors and must surely have led their men personally; but early in the history of Ngonde the Kyungu was secluded, and power was exercised almost exclusively by the nobles (*vide supra*, pp. 40-46); and the Lwembe also was, at one period, 'not seen by ordinary men' and led a life hedged about with taboos. There is sharp contrast in Nyakyusa tradition between the active chiefs who were warriors, and arbitrators, and worked hard in their fields[1] and the 'divine king' who lived in seclusion. As we have seen, the chiefs often delegated ritual functions, with the taboos involved, to a junior kinsman such as Mwansakinga (44) or Mwakilulu (45) (*vide* pp. 79-81, 114) whose heirs succeeded to the office. It is even possible that the [176] first Lwembe at Lubaga (Mwakalobela 19) took over ritual functions from his senior brother, Kalesi (18).[2] The present tendency is for the development of secular power and its separation from mystical power. The Kyungu is no longer a god but an administrator; the heir of the Lwembes sits as an elected representative of chiefs on the Local Council. In the traditional 182 Nyakyusa society ritual played an essential part in maintaining 177 the balance between generations, sections, and social strata, and in

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[1] In 1935 a young chief was bitterly criticized by his men because he 'never had a hoe in his hands' whereas his father and grandfather had (to our personal knowledge) been diligent in hoeing.

[2] But according to one excellent informant, Mwakalosalos (91) lived secluded while Mwakilima (92) 'led men'—i.e. entertained.

linking scattered political units, but that function is disappearing with the growth of trade and a centralized political authority. District Commissioner, Rural and District Councils, and Co-operatives supplant the 'divine king', and limit the power of local chiefs much more narrowly than he ever did.

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[illegible]: Indeed, may the illness not be great, may the children not cry by night, may the cattle increase, and the fields be fertile, and the fowls also increase. May children sleep. Our fathers always confessed in the house. Now we are shocked at what is happening. 783 796

[illegible]: We say thank you, chiefs, you do not forget us. Let the sickness pass and go away, may the cattle sleep, and you women, may the children grow. May the fields be fertile; may there not be envy of one another. We are sorry because there is much illness. Our fathers say 'Why have the chiefs turned round?'

[illegible]: Chief, we beg you, we thank you, indeed there is sickness. Is there anyone who says in their quarter there is much sickness (more than elsewhere)? Do we say something about sickness?

[illegible]: No, Mwampiki, all of us who have come here are sick.

[illegible]: Yes, we are all rotting.

Mwaikambo commenting on this explained:

If there is sickness one may admit and say, 'It is I, I was angry on account of such and such.' Yes, indeed, they confess openly, because he who sees in his belly (=knows in his heart) that 'It is I who have done this' trembles when his fellows speak many words thinking, 'Perhaps they have seen me.' So he confesses. When he confesses he escapes, they only grumble at him saying, 'Don't do it again.' If someone admits the others say, 'It is he, but we have punished him.' I think that even in the old days he was not driven out, because they hope that, if he has confessed, the illness he caused will go away.

[illegible]: Have you ever before heard of a hornbill eating a hen? We are horrified. Even the prophets did not speak of such an event. [787]

[illegible]: Indeed, it has never before happened, we are glad that our chiefs have taken the initiative with these words.

[illegible]: For this custom is old, it began long ago in the time of our fathers. It is the custom to give hope in the homesteads, that we may grow strong.

[illegible]: Always, if the chief is ill it is said, 'Where are you, oh people?' All the homesteads watch over the chief when he is ill. [Mwaikambo commenting: It is said that people have the work of watching over their chief that no one may bewitch him, hence when he is ill they reproach people saying: 'Where are you?' Let the old customs be observed now (implying that they have left all the old customs and hence there is much sickness in the country).] [754] [177]

[illegible]: There are some who say 'Let so-and-so die that I may move into his homestead. Let envy which brings sickness also go away.'

[illegible]: If sickness appears let us tell the chief that we may all express astonishment together, asking where the illness has come from, then it will be light, if we all grumble together. [Mwaikambo commenting: [753]

833 and women, it is procreative power, fertility. That power is
783 constantly expelled from the belly but returns again and by that
755 expulsion and return men live.

There was a great deal of criticism from the conservatives
177 because no sacrifice had been made.

787 MWAMUNDA: Now people are talking much saying, 'We have abandoned
that which they did formerly, we are doing something else.' People
have many dreams (gesture head on hand as if heavy with anxiety),
many say: 'I have dreamed of the dead, they told me to sacrifice a
cow, to pray, we did not pray properly, that is useless, it will not
effect anything.' So we have told the chief saying: 'Let us kill a cow
at the grave of Mwakan'ata,' he has agreed, but the cow has not yet
783 come.

Formerly, on the night following the day of the prayer we should
796 have eaten the sacrificial cow, the chief would have killed two cows
and the headmen from different villages would have come and eaten
by night, and drunk beer provided by the chief, in the house of the
senior wife of the chief. . . . They ate a little meat, raw, the rest they
roasted. Then in the morning, when they had eaten and were satisfied,
they would go to clear out the house, to throw out the ashes, and to
[372] pray, as we prayed now, and to make new fire by friction in the pasture
land. The village headman made fire with medicine which the chief
gave him, the name of the medicine is Mbamba, it's a tree. To throw
out the ashes means to clear out all the filth, the filth which the
[754] witches and the shades have brought to us—the filth that is sickness. . . .
Do not the witches eat meat at the fire? Human flesh? Some roast at
[775] your fires your bodies which they have seized, some go home with the
human flesh to their own fires, hence comes the filth of the ashes. The
village headmen eat the sacrificial meat at night with the shades, they
celebrate for them with the blood which goes beneath. . . .

If the chief has done something wrong, then those above [i.e. the
village headmen] pray to those beneath saying, 'Let us help one another
to punish him who has strayed, but we do not wish that he
[754] should die, let him be ill; perhaps then he will seek something to
nourish us.' Again the night before the throwing out of the ashes they
confess their anger and say: 'You beneath, this our child (the chief)
has remembered us, there is no accusation against him now, may
sickness go away from the country, and children sleep, let us all sleep
and the cows calve. We greet those beneath.' In my childhood I was
repeatedly surprised at night when my father came in, he had a little
parcel of meat. 'Where have you been?' I asked. 'We have been praying.'
But since I grew up and became a village headman, and was
recorded as such [by the administration] we have never seen sacrificial
meat.

. . . I put the stones into water, it is as if someone spilt it out, the sherd dries up. . . . Now Kyala has gone away, the shades have fled, formerly they clapped their hands (indicating satisfaction). . . . There is something about which the shade is angry, because in this homestead we were accustomed to pray frequently. . . . If I boast saying: 'It will rain tomorrow', will it rain? 789 [775]
MWAMAKUNDA THE YOUNGER (gravely, and with hesitation): No, not if Kyala does not wish.
WIFE OF MWAMAKUNDA: But formerly it agreed [i.e. the rain came].

A day or two later Kasitile came in, during the evening, with Mwalusanye, a young doctor, the son of doctors.

K.: This rain, do you not ask about it?
G.W.: Have you been to consult the oracle?
K.: Yes. I consulted it the day before yesterday.
G.W.: What did it say?
K.: It said: 'Your fathers are angry, and Kyala and the Holy Spirit (NaMhepo Mwikemo)!' [775] [776]
G.W.: What do they say we have done wrong?
K.: Since Mwaipopo received a Court what have the chiefs given us to say 'We did wrong?' Did they give me a cow? They did not. [Here Kasitile was referring to the insult to Lubaga, vide supra, pp. 55-6, and he identifies himself with the priests of Lubaga.] In MaNgonde I was a commoner, I ate meat, here I live hungry.
G.W.: And now who will speak out about this matter?
K.: You, you tell Mwaipopo 'Ask Pikumbalo (Kasitile 86) why this rain does not come, what has happened to it?'
G.W. refused and asked: Who should suggest this according to custom?
K.: Mwamakunda.
MWALUSANYE: Because according to custom, Mwaipaja (G.W.), if things were as they are with us now, if the rain refused, our fathers came to Kasitile (60), the father of this one, to ask him saying, 'Kasitile what has happened to the rain?' But now that our fathers are dead, we are bad, we do not ask. [177] [688]

And a few days later the chief said: We have thrown away our food, it's drying up in the ground . . . this drought! Kasitile says: 'It has defeated me . . . the shades (imisyu) have caught hold of us.' Perhaps they claim a cow, perhaps it is because Mwaihojo (147) and his fellows paid here. . . . But those beneath are angry (pointing downwards and speaking with conviction), the owner is angry.

The rain-maker therefore is not conceived of as working independently; the goodwill of the shades of the chief is necessary, and perhaps also those of the rain-maker himself, though this is not quite clear. Nowadays, at least, Kyala is also invoked. In [775] [177]

789 drought, as in illness, a number of possible causes are discussed,
[775] and if one possible cause is dealt with and yet the drought persists,
another will be put forward. A shrewd priest or doctor can turn
[771] this to account and find many reasons for the failure of his ritual,
as the following case shows.

789 In the wet Nyakyusa valley rain-makers are not concerned
only with drought, but also with flood, and, in the years 1933-8,
791 with the rise in the level of the Lake which inundated many
gardens.[1] On the Nyakyusa plain the rise was attributed to the
[821] action of a Kisi doctor, Mwetabi, who had first boasted that he could bring up the Lake and then been commissioned by the chief, Mwakalukwa (141), to do so, 'because there was much grass by the Lake and many mosquitoes, and it was dirty there'. He was told to 'take the Lake up a bit, but not too far' and given a sheep. Then, the following season, in April (a month of torrential rain), Mwakalukwa's son Mwakisisile (170, for Mwakalukwa himself had died) gave him a little bull saying,

> [578] Send the Lake back, it has come too far. Then the doctor went home thinking to himself, 'Why does he give me such a little bull?' and he met a headman of the neighbouring chief, Mwakabulufu (158), and said, 'Why should I send the Lake back, Mwakisisile has given me a bull only; had he given me a cow, I'd have done so, but now I am angry.' Then Mwakabulufu heard and sent a message to say he would provide a cow, since Mwakalukwa was dead. But the doctor refused: 'No, Mwakalukwa (the son, 170) is still alive, he must give it.' The following September, before the usual end of the dry season, there was rain on the plain. It is the Kisi's rain. Mwakisisile (170) refused to give him anything, he said he was a liar, but the commoners collected 50s. and a goat, and the Kisi performed a ritual just recently, and said: 'The Lake will go back, but my strength will bring the rain; it will rain during the dry season this month.' We laughed very much in Tukuyu to hear such a prophecy, but it is raining!

The following year—after the Lake had risen again—another reason was given. It was said that a rain-maker at Bujo in Kisi country had died, and just before he died he had thrown a rain stone into the Lake.

(b) MAGIC OF FERTILITY

789 We did not learn very much about 'sprinkling the homesteads';

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[1] There is a periodic rise and fall in the level of the Lake. In 1937 the Lake steamer was anchoring in what had been the roof-tree of the District Commissioner's house at Karonga.

CHAPTER IX

KASITILE THE PRIEST

We turn now from the description of rituals to a personal document, an account of the illness of Kasitile (88), the leading priest of Selya, the causes suggested for it, and the rituals performed. His case shows: (i) the power of village headmen over chiefs in general, more particularly the power of the commoner priests (village headmen of the previous generation) over hereditary priests of the chief's lineage; (ii) the persistent linking of misfortune with sin in both public and private life; (iii) the function of divination in selecting between possible causes of disease; (iv) the influence of Christian and Muslim teaching and Western medical science on a conservative who goes so far as to invite a Muslim to cut the throat of the sacrificial animal and speaks of turning Christian in his old age; and (v) the very great importance attached to 'speaking out' (*[illegible]*) and not leaving anger to smoulder unconfessed. Beer is necessary for such a ritual 'speaking out' and the participants are pressed to drink deep, for in vino veritas. 797 785 [554] [485] [787] [897] [177] [473]

The *dramatis personae* are:

Kasitile (88) of the chief's lineage, priest of Selya [551]
Jane his senior and favourite wife
Jane's younger sister and co-wife
Kilulile a third wife suspected of bewitching Kasitile [759]
Mwaipopo (118) the chief and senior kinsman of Kasitile
Mwakyonde (148) the doctor who was treating Kasitile
Kinga *priests* (i.e. Kikongolwoja Nsyanigwa, Kyambo Kinali, *vide* pp. 24-34)
Ngulavwo, Njobokela, Kasongola: Village headmen of Mwaijonga (82) and priests of his grove, *vide* pp. 74-7, 84-5
Mwamakunda the elder a hereditary priest, assistant to Kasitile
Mwamakunda the younger (Mwandagagile) son of the elder who often acted in his place

755 771 some live coals into a small calabash and held them against Kasitile's chest 'to clear out the blood of coughing'. To pacify the shades a pot of medicines in water was put on the fire; the doctor, Kasitile, and his [764] 'senior wife' (actually her younger sister, as Jane was away) each held the pot with a crooked finger. Then Kasitile and all his wives and children were sprinkled with the hot medicines. And the doctor told Kasitile to sacrifice a bull.

During the following week preparations for the sacrifice went ahead. [793] Kasitile walked for some hours through the forest to call Mwamakonda, his fellow priest who always assisted him in the celebrations at Lubaga and 'sprinkling the country'. Mwamakonda is a very old man, contemporary of Kasitile's father, and he asked: 'Are you bringing your European to the sacrifice?'

KASITILE: Yes.

[186] [608] [177] MWAMAKONDA: But your father Mwakanjuki (sic) did not know any Europeans, he feared them, he died without ever meeting one. After your father died, when your elder brother was alive, Europeans came —Germans—and cut down a tree, the *umuuli* tree in the sacred grove near Kasumu; blood gushed out, it shouted so that it was heard in Bukinga.

[782] [783] Kasitile explained that the Germans had wanted timber. Afterwards Mwaipopo (the chief 118) caught a sheep and they tried to put the grove to rights ('clean up') by sacrificing it. This was the tree beside which the sacred meat was always put when they sacrificed in the grove. Now one branch has grown up again from the roots.

Mwamakonda went on: 'But you did wrong at the beginning not to take the European to pray, and to tell Mwakanjuki (sic) that he should not be afraid, the European has made himself our friend.' Kasitile, reporting the interview to us said: 'I reminded that we went together to the grove to pray (*vide supra*, p. 113) and Mwamakonda told me: "Let the European take something, let it stay overnight in the house, and go with him, and pray very much. . . . Mwakanjuki has gone off in a huff from your home, you have offended him yourself. Go with the 753 769 698 186 European, take him to your father's home. Now your father has taken offence, he is shaking your body by night because you cut the tree; you have done wrong."' I.e. two causes for the anger of the shades and Kasitile's consequent sickness were given: (i) the cutting of the tree by Mwakanjuki's grave and (ii) Godfrey Wilson's presence at rituals and at Kasitile's homestead. So before the sacrifice of expiation for 783 782 pruning the grove was performed Godfrey Wilson went to be introduced to Kasitile's shades for the second time.

Record of G.W. 9/4/37

[776] In the evening as the sun was setting, I went to Kasitile's house with a cloth and an. He put them in the house, took down the calabash which

always hangs under the eaves and is only used for prayer, filled it with water and put into it a stone and a live coal from the fire. Then he took some roots from the roof (previously put there ready) and we went off to the same spot as before (*vide supra*, p. 113). Kasitile chewed the root, took water and blew it out, and began to pray: 783 782 [778]

'Do not be startled, come in your own persons, gather together, with Mwakanjoki (60). You made friends with him before, now he has entered, he has made himself our friend. Indeed I made a mistake, I have come to enter; I cut you on the head, I have done wrong. The sons of Kagile (i.e. 59 + his descendants) complain of me, saying, "It is he who has gone off with the millet, bananas, and maize; and children cry at night behind the huts; we are barren because he has cut Mwakanjoki." I have sought this cow which you wanted. Mwakanjoki (60), Lwembe (57), Mwakalelelo (19), Mwantemba (09), Mwalubunge (58), Mwakagile (59), Mwanjonga (82), Kyala (1), we have come to attend to you (pointing to the grave). Kikangulanja, Nsyanigwa Kyamba Kitali,[1] Lyambilo (14) come to your home if you are at Mwalubunge's (58), come if you are at Mwaitende's (61), come Mwakanjoki (60) and the Kinga and Lwembe (3); Mwakalelelo (19) come, give me cattle and millet, and the powerful medicine which you had. Since you are brooding over me go out from my body, go out! I pay my debt. We have come to take you to your home since you have gone off in a huff, come! I will never cut your branches again. I fear you and I will respect the branches. Come to your house, that of Mwamalobha (83), of Kanjoki (mother of 60), come. And he (G.W.) is innocent (*mwele*), do not fear him. He is the owner of the ritual, he is Mwamalobha (83), he is my senior, I am the junior. Sometimes I wish to embrace him, sometimes I fear that he is going to imprison me.[2] May the bananas increase! I am left alone! It is I who am here! Move out of my body! And give us medicine! May the offering increase overnight, may the cattle increase and the maize, and in the morning let me tell Mwaipaja (G.W.) that the bananas and medicine have increased. If there is anything else you are a liar, if this chill begins again then I have gone, I am not here. Amen! (*sic*).' [769] [123] [789]

Very early the following morning the sacrificial bull was killed. Kasitile had arranged that our Mohammedan cook should come to cut its throat.[3] Then, later in the morning, the crucial drinking and 'speaking out' began. Kasitile had provided two pots of beer. [777]

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[1] Three Kinga priests whose names are titles of office.

[2] In the earlier years of our acquaintance Kasitile had denied both the smothering of an ailing chief and human sacrifice for the drum. It is possible that he had co-operated in either one or both of these ritual acts. He himself reported that the Sangu diviner had told him: 'You have a European as a close friend. . . . You enjoy his company much, but there is something left . . .' (*i.e.* the friendship is not yet complete). [114]

[3] Ostensibly so that he could partake of the meat, but the reason given seemed inadequate.

(their witchcraft); to each other they say: 'It is your father.' Because 688
if they confess to a fellow commoner saying, 'It is we', he says, 'You 775
are "eating" me, drink the ordeal'. The witch is driven out. But to us 774
they admit saying, 'It was we who were angry.' They do not fear us. 826
Commoners are the seniors in the country; they arrived first. 554

It will be remembered that the commoners are spoken of as 'black people' (*abatitu*) and that the first chiefs were 'pale' (*mwelu*) but these words also have moral implications. 'It is said that a person "has a black heart" or "has black blood", or "is black in his face towards us" when he is thought to be a witch, eating his fellows, or when he is a thief, or a liar, or an adulterer, or dirty. Even though his body is light coloured (*mwelu*) the word "black" (*atitu*) is used of him metaphorically.' And *mwelu* implies innocent, pure, as well as light in colour. The comparable symbolism of 'nigger' and 'white man' is all too familiar in Johannesburg or Charleston.

That Kasitile himself was much afraid of the commoner chiefs [152]
and was relieved by the 'speaking out' was clear, and the people [578]
of the country as a whole were glad that the ritual had been
celebrated, for they expected an increase in fertility. Some days
later Mwakyonde (148), came in and said, laughing, but half 795
serious: 'Congratulations, Mwaipaja (G.W.). You have celebrated 778
the ritual, we rejoice greatly, you give us fertility of the soil, you 183
are a great priest.'

In some moods Kasitile was inclined to become a Christian, but
he felt an obligation to the country as priest, and believed too [177]
strongly in the efficacy of the traditional rituals to abandon them. [787]
He said to G.W. one day, over a pot of beer: 'If it were not for the ritual I would get you to speak to the Europeans of the mission, and I would go with my wife Jane, and be baptized. If my son was old enough and had agreed to carry on the ritual I would do it; perhaps I will when I am old. . . . It is good to have one's heart washed clean, we are dirty inside. The Christians say to us: "You with your four wives each, you are all dirty, you love one and squabble with the rest." Well, it is so with me, I love Jane only; I would like to go and be baptized with her. But I fear for the ritual, I fear hunger, the hunger of the people. For I am the food of the country, I am the maker of food.'

We left Selya shortly after this and were not able to observe the effect of the ritual on political relationships in Selya. Kasitile lived another seventeen years, duly performing his functions, and in 1954 he was succeeded by his brother's son, James.

791 *ipijfaila* comes from west of Ngonde, or east of the Kinga; [illegible]
[498] came from 'Nyasaland'; medicine for fertility of the fields from
[278] Mbaka which is rich in food; war medicine from the Sangu and
[434] Kinga. Whether neighbouring people get medicines from BaNyakyusa we do not know—no one ever suggested it, but it is likely that they do.

[177] Since foreign doctors and medicines have the highest reputation new treatments are welcomed. This is where the practice of medicines differs radically from the rituals directed to the shades in which the charter is tradition, and any deviation must be justified. But the willingness to accept something new did not lead to any systematic experiment, or any regard for experiment as such.

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278 Anyone who chooses, and can pay the fees, can become a doctor by apprenticing himself to a practitioner of repute, but it is very noticeable that the majority of well-known doctors come from families of doctors, the medicines being passed down from one generation to the next and sometimes taught to wives as well. Lyandileko, who has often been quoted, was taught certain medicines by her husband, and had a large practice. The diviners we knew were all men, but many women know a number of medicines. Once in practice, a doctor may add to his knowledge by buying a medicine from a fellow practitioner or exchanging medicines with him. One doctor we knew had paid two bulls for the secret of his protective medicine (*undala gwa ipinga*). The teaching includes what plants or other ingredients to collect and how to 'cook' them, i.e. what to mix together and what quantities to use. As elsewhere in Africa, it is the material substance, usually vegetable, which is held to be important in any treatment. The spell—the words addressed to the medicine—is of little significance except that when vengeance magic is prepared the man on whose behalf it is done may say the name of his enemy (if he knows his identity) and state his own innocence in a phrase like the following: 'Return this medicine, thou Kyala, I have done no wrong whatsoever to cause me to be killed; if he says he will kill me let him die.'

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793 The doctor (*unganga*) who 'knows medicines' is distinguished from the priest or officiant (*unyago*) who knows how to conduct a ritual directed to the shades or heroes. The *unyago* uses medicines in celebrating rituals, and he or she may be able to collect and prepare plants himself, but he sometimes has to apply to a doctor

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959

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769 is illustrated in the references made by priests to the python which
appears in Lwembe's grove as *kyala* (*vide supra*, pp. 29, 35).
This python is 'the lord', Lwembe.

[776] Nowadays Kyala is spoken of as a first cause—the origin of
776 death, and of social institutions, as well as the creator of life. The
● 777 current version of the myth of the origin of death begins: 'When
773 Kyala created the country and the people at the beginning there
was no death. Then he thought there should be death and life.
He asked people to choose between life and death, and they chose
life.' And when men are asked the reason for a custom or ritual
they may answer 'Kyala made us so', 'Kyala made us black people
like that'.

Since Kyala is nowadays regarded as the creator of the natural order he is often blamed for the intractability of things—the log that splits, the lorry that skids. Once a vendor of very small potatoes said, when the buyer complained of the size, 'Kyala gave them to us like this', only to be jeered at by the onlookers who admonished him: 'Had you cultivated better they would have been larger.'

Much of the material quoted is susceptible of the interpretation
776 that Kyala is an overriding power to which the shades, witches,
775 and medicines are subject. 'The medicine will be effective if
Kyala wills'; 'rain will fall when the rain-maker soaks his stones if
Kyala wills'; 'when the doctor treats the tails they "vomit"
(froth over), then if Kyala has helped us the cattle give much milk'.
Even in 1935 conservatives like Kasitile sometimes expressed such
beliefs, but they did not do so consistently. Their preoccupation
was with other forces and acknowledgment of Kyala seemed to be
tacked on almost as an afterthought. This came out very clearly in
Kasitile's session with the diviner who, fearing the presence of a
European, gave 'Kyala' as the cause of Kasitile's disease, and
Kasitile rejected the verdict saying: 'Kyala never stands alone.'
[779] The influence of Christian teaching on pagan thought was already
considerable in 1935—Kasitile added 'Jesus' and 'the Holy
[797] Spirit' to the shades invoked—and we believe the mention of
Kyala in many of the pagan prayers at that date to have been due
to Christian influence. The idea of a supreme power is accepted
very readily *as an addition* to the belief in the shades, the witches,
and medicines, though it does not easily replace them altogether.
By 1955 the shift in emphasis was clear. Besides Kyala 'the lord' of a
commoner or junior, and Kyala the hero who is worshipped at

his cave and who, though a creator, is equalled by other heroes and 776
dwells in the bowels of the earth, there was Kyala an ultimate 775
power and first cause, unique and omnipotent, who dwelt in 777
heaven 'above'. The implications of *kumwanya* (above) have 787
changed along with the implications of *Kyala*.

The new balance between the different elements in pagan thought was reflected in everyday speech. In the 1930's men spoke constantly of the shades (*abanyafyale*), the witches (*abalozi*), and 'the breath of men' (*imbepo ya bandu*); Kyala did not figure much in the conversation of pagans. But in 1955, from the moment when the bus I arrived in skidded off the road and the passengers began assuring each other that *Kyala alimo* (God is present), because no one had been injured, I heard the name constantly. Such a change is hard to prove, but the impression of a marked shift in emphasis was strong.

The conception of the hero Mbasi has also radically altered. 776
During the years before 1914 a man, with two boys in attendance, 685
posed as Mbasi and went round Selya by night, growling in a gruff voice that he was Mbasi, and seizing cattle and fowls and food. He was eventually taken by night, by some Christians, and
died after seven months' imprisonment in Tukuyu. Today the [781]
Christians never use 'Mbasi' for God, but sometimes identify him with 'Satan', and the pagans use 'Lwembe' rather than 'Mbasi'.

The range of relationships in space was narrow in the tradi- 782
tional Nyakyusa society, and the range of relationship in time was correspondingly so. Only a limited number of chiefdoms co-operated in sacrifice to a hero (and often they seem to have acted separately, rather than in concert), and all historical time was
contained in the genealogies depicted. There was a dawn when 773
men ate food raw and lived without fire, or cattle, or chiefs, but history began when the heroes descended from the mountains, ten or twelve generations ago. Time was telescoped when all the known world lay within 100 miles.

A social revolution occurred once, with the coming of the chiefs, but then time stood still, and ever since the heroic age has
remained the pattern of right behaviour. Departure from the [751]
rituals laid down spells madness and death, for 'Kyala created us so'. Part of primeval reality is the conflict of generations expressed in the myth of the seduction of a young wife by her husband's father, in the rules of avoidance, and in the ritual of the 'coming out'. There is no convention of fighting on this last occasion (as

avenged and men should be *mwela*, pure, innocent, without anger 769
n their hearts. But, as has been shown, this quality of purity is the 713
ery *opposite* of spiritual power (*amanga* or *ubwigu*). It is attributed neither to Kyala and the other heroes nor to the priests; according to Kasitile (p. 158) a pure person cannot be a commoner priest nd the chiefs themselves, though *mwela*—pale—by comparison ith the black commoners who are witches, are also 'heavy' asito) with the medicines they have drunk. Men become *mwela* y confession; 'speaking out' is a condition of efficacy in sacrifice nd the officiant blows out water as a symbol of bringing up all he anger that was in his heart. The parents of twins and the riests of Lubaga, having celebrated their awful rituals emerge, rying, '*Tuli bele*'—we are pure. The very quality which rituals roduce in men is the *opposite* of that which characterizes their eroes, their priests, and their rulers. Galahad whose 'strength was as the strength of ten because his heart was pure' is wholly oreign to Nyakyusa thought.

Truthfulness was never mentioned as a characteristic of the ighteous or the pure, nor is it a quality of the heroes or priests. [577] Men censure one another for *ubulengele* which is commonly ranslated as 'lying', but means rather 'speaking indiscreetly'. n one Nyakyusa text the child who is told certain ritual secrets y his father and reveals them when he should not is *ntengele*, nd this is an accepted use of the word. No burning concern ith truth or falsehood is apparent in the Nyakyusa tradition hough they are passionately interested in what they conceive o be right and wrong.

The conception of witchcraft and sorcery implies a freedom, a [754]
hoice of good or evil, for the individual. Much is determined. In [608]
Nyakyusa thought, the sins of the fathers are visited on the hildren, and a child may fall ill because his great-grandfather hed blood or was bound with ropes, and was not adequately leansed, or because his father has neglected a ward; moreover, insmen are 'members one of another', and a ritual neglected by ne may bring suffering to others; but there is *also* the notion of ndividual responsibility. A witch or sorcerer acts consciously and oluntarily—our informants scouted the idea of a witch being nware of his actions—and he may repent and desist. There are [177]
ow, periodically in Africa, 'revivalist' movements in which a agan doctor or diviner urges men to throw away their evil edicines and repent from their witchcraft. One such movement

768 swept through BuNyakyusa in the early 1930's; perhaps other
783 similar movements preceded it—we do not know. What is clear
[777] is that traditionally there was continuous public pressure to
[185] overcome hatred within the village and the kinship group; to rid
oneself of it by confession and an expression of goodwill. In pagan
[578] thought Utopia is a society without witches or sorcerers and,
though it was never achieved, everyone is convinced that formerly
these evil-doers were fewer than now, because they were restrained
by law, whereas 'witches' now go scot-free.

183 The interests of the Nyakyusa are personal and practical.
Health, fertility, and amity between kinsmen and neighbours
are what they seek. It is with rain and drought, with the rise of
773 the Lake or the striking of lightning which destroys property;
with stock, crops, and the wild animals which prey upon them
that the myths are concerned. We could trace no tales of the sun,
moon, and stars, and no rituals are directed to them. Reference is
made to volcanic disturbance in the myths of the heroes—
'the ground rumbled' when Nkekete and Kyala walked, and there
are stories of small lakes disappearing and reappearing elsewhere—
but the concern shown is surprisingly little if an eruption indeed
destroyed villages last century as Mr. Harkin's single informant
suggests (*vide supra*, p. 16).

787 Reality is thought to be revealed to men in dreams, by prophets
who 'go down thinking like the roots of a tree' to the world of the
791 shades, and by oracles. What men seek to know are the causes of
misfortune—public and private—and the identity of witches.
Occasionally, it is said, a prophet has looked into the future and
foretold drought, or flood, or the coming of Europeans—'white
things on the Lake'—against whom it would be foolish to fight,
but for the most part they are concerned with the misfortunes
[183] that exist, and urging men to pray in the groves. The contemplative
is not honoured in Nyakyusa tradition; the man of
spiritual power is a detective—a discoverer of evil-doers—or an
administrator whose awfulness adds to his authority.

183 Men are preoccupied with their relationships to other living
men—their kinsmen, neighbours, and fellow office-holders—
771 and with their dead fathers. They are not concerned with their
relationship to Kyala. The rituals celebrated by kinsmen are
directed to the shades not to any supreme God, and it is quarrelling
between kinsmen that angers the shades and makes the celebration
of certain rituals necessary. The communal rituals are

The negative rituals—the taboos which surround the procreative functions—disappear rather slowly, but a Christian father will enter his wife's hut to greet her after she has given birth to a child, and will eat food cooked by her a week or two later, which the pagans think extremely rash. An atmosphere of scepticism and experiment begins to develop; a few Christians spoke of breaking even the deeply-entrenched taboos surrounding menstruation 'to see what happened'. But that many Christians, especially women, feared the old taboos was apparent when one watched the behaviour of Christian daughters-in-law towards their fathers-in-law. In theory Christians disregarded the rules of avoidance if their fathers-in-law are Christian, or avoid 'only a little', but in practice a Christian woman is usually embarrassed and fearful if, by mischance, she meets her father-in-law face to face.[1] 797, 795, [854] [262] [606]

Christians withdrew from the pagan communal rituals even more completely than they do from the rituals of kinship. No Christian takes any part in the sacrifices to the heroes, or at the groves of chiefs, or in cleansing the country, or in rain-making, or sprinkling the homesteads. As for the ritual of chieftainship, from that also Christians withdrew. At the time we were first in BuNyakyusa only two chiefs were professing Christians, one of whom was already baptized before his installation. The 'coming out' performed for him was much curtailed since he refused to use the traditional medicines and, because of the difficulty over medicines, Christians were not acceptable as village headmen. In Ngonde, where the proportion of Christians was much greater, there were Christian headmen and chiefs, but the ritual of 'coming out' had disappeared altogether, and the Kyungu had delegated the celebration of all pagan rituals to one of his councillors who still believed in them, he himself being a sceptic. [796]

There are tales of the early missionaries visiting the groves to challenge pagan belief. The pagans believe that they were confounded and some of the more conservative Christians also think that the terror of the grove drove the Reverend — Jauer from Lubaga (*vide supra*, p. 29) and that *because* the Reverend — Kleus summoned the teachers and school children to a feast in the grove of Mbyanga, and killed 'a black cow' for them there, a season of plenty followed. 'Many people said: "He seems to have been advised by someone, why did he go to Mbyanga and sing [777] ● [778]

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[1] For an account of such a meeting, cf. Monica Wilson, *Good Company*, pp. 84-5.

CHAPTER XIII

TWENTY YEARS' CHANGE

How does Christianity interact with other revolutionary forces in the community? It has been possible to observe the changes that have taken place among the Nyakyusa after a lapse of twenty years, and a summary of them is necessary before we proceed to a discussion of the links between religious and secular change. 177

The first thing that strikes a visitor returning to Nyakyusa country after many years, is that the isolation, which was so typical of the valley, has greatly diminished. Buses, filled with Nyakyusa passengers, cross twice daily the high pass that leads out of the valley, and where once travellers died of exposure and starvation there is a hard road fringed with homesteads and fields. The belt of unoccupied country that even twenty years ago separated the Nyakyusa from their neighbours has disappeared, for they themselves have spilled out of the valley to the north and west, and their Kinga neighbours have come down the Livingstone escarpment to the east and cultivate the mountain slopes, for 'they no longer fear that people (i.e. the Nyakyusa) will seize their property'. Men travel abroad to find work and they go much farther and stay away longer than before. In the remotest village there is some man who has visited Burma or Malaya as a soldier, and a dozen lads who will argue the relative merits of the Orange Free State gold mines and the Copper-belt as centres of employment. Many women now accompany their husbands to Rhodesia, or other parts of Tanganyika, and some travel to visit daughters or sisters. The older women enlarge on their journeys and joke about how fearful they used to be. [494] [491] [166] [167] [464]

Travel implies learning another language, most often Swahili, but also Bemba and English and the pidgin of the gold and copper mines called Fanakalo. Thus intellectual isolation is disappearing along with the physical isolation. The numerous 'bush schools' which existed in the Nyakyusa valley in 1938, and at which many of those who attended never even learnt to read and write, have been largely replaced by mission primary schools, state-aided and inspected, and in these and the Native Authority primary and middle schools there are now 9,437 pupils, as against about 500 [191] [198] 177 872

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

[177] in similar schools in 1938. Less than 40 per cent of the children
between eight and eleven years old[1] are as yet in school in
[872] Rungwe District and the demand for places is enormous. Among
the most insistent are girls wanting education. During the
1930's the Education Department was trying, with little success,
[871] to coax girls to stay in school long enough to learn to read and
write, but today nearly a third of the primary school pupils are
girls. A handful of boys and girls go out of the district to attend
[870] middle or secondary schools, and a few candidates for training as
teachers and district nurses come in. Thus an educated person,
or one who goes out to work, mixes with people whose backgrounds
and languages are quite different from his own.

Then people are richer than they used to be, partly because of
[511] the wages earned abroad, and partly because of the coffee and
[465] rice grown and exported. There is also some employment within
the district on tea estates (especially important to women and
girls), and coal and vermiculite mines. The value of peasant crops
[430] exported has risen from about £24,000 in 1936[2] to nearly £378,000
from coffee and rice alone in 1955,[3] and some men have made as
much as £130 from their coffee in a year. A coffee cheque of £30
to £60 is common. In addition to the peasant crops there is tea
from estates—well over a million pounds of made tea in 1955 as
well as a quantity of seed. This increase in wealth has involved a
change in the division of labour. Because men are not at home to
clear and hoe, their wives, perforce, must clear fields and hoe for
themselves, assisted by their young sons, boys who twenty years
ago would not yet have stopped herding.

[161] There has been a rapid increase in population, more especially
in the hills, due partly to the development of health services and

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[1] Number of children in Mission and Native Authority schools in Rungwe District, 1955:

Boys	Girls	Total	No. of children 8-11 years of age (estimated at 10% of total population)
6,550	2,094	8,646	23,693
Middle Schools			
718	73	791	(This total does not include those who are in middle schools outside the District, nor does it include those following a professional course in the District)

(Figures provided by the courtesy of the Provincial Education Officer, Mbeya.)
Change in Ngonde is not discussed for it was not possible to visit that area in 1955.

[2] *Good Company*, p. 16.

[3] Calculated from figures kindly supplied by the District Commissioner, Mr. Peter Johnston.

partly to the closer spacing of children. Whereas four years [177]
between births was conventional formerly, two or less is now usual. [161]
One of the characteristics of the present population is a disproportion between the sexes, the females outnumbering the [162]
males by 100 to 87·9 even when due allowance has been made for men away at work.[5] This disproportion is characteristic also of African populations in the south[6] and it appears likely that it is due to a wide difference in the survival rate of men and women, but the vital statistics necessary to test this hypothesis are lacking.

The increase in population, and the demand for coffee gardens [311]
and rice fields by men who prefer to earn cash by agriculture rather than as migrant labourers, has led to a shortage of land, already acute in the fertile lake-shore plain, and imminent in the coffee-growing villages of the hills.[7] Much land that was previously pasture land has been taken into cultivation, and signs of overstocking are everywhere apparent. Hillsides that in 1938 were covered with grass, waist high, now have a thin stubble. To aggravate matters, the care of stock is less efficient than it used to be because it is left to very small boys, their seniors being occupied with school and hoeing. Often the cattle are both ill nourished and [231]
covered with ticks—something that was never seen when they were herded by adolescents and carefully hand-dressed. The villagers themselves are as much concerned as the agricultural officers over [232]
the shortage of pasture and the decrease in the milk supply, but [242]
they are not prepared to accept the remedies recommended: namely, reduction of stock and stall-feeding. The advice of Europeans on the growing of rice and coffee crops, which they introduced to the district, is acceptable, but the Nyakyusa argue

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[5] The Census figures cannot be taken as exact, but they give some indication of the increase in population, and the disproportion between men and women. In 1931 the population of Rungwe District was given as 195,060. In 1948 it was 236,986. In 1931 the proportion of males to females (Kukwe and Nyakyusa in Rungwe district) was 73·6 : 100 (Tanganyika Territory, *Census of the Native Population 1931*). In 1948 the figure for Tukuyu district as a whole was 80 : 100 (Tanganyika Territory, *East African Population Census, 1948*). Allowing for 8,800 men away without wives (estimate for 1954 less 10 per cent), the proportion is 87·9 : 100 (cf. P. H. Gulliver, Report on the Migration of African Workers to the South from the Southern Highland Province, with special Reference to the Nyakyusa of Rungwe District, February 1955, p. 16). The discrepancy in the figures given for adults was 80·0 : 100 in 1948, but the ages of males and females classed as 'adult' are uncertain.

[6] D. H. Houghton and E. M. Walton, *The Economy of a Native Reserve*, Keiskammahoek Rural Survey, vol. ii, pp. 94–6, 51. The sex ratio for Keiskammahoek District is 73·6 males : 100 females.

[7] cf. P. H. Gulliver, *Nyakyusa Land and Population*, 1956.

[177] that they have always been cattle men and they need no instruction
[232] on cattle. The tension over stock limitation and soil conservation,
so acute in many parts of Africa, is only just appearing
[242] in Rungwe district, but potentially it is serious.

Pressure on land, and the planting of a valuable long-term crop
[311] such as coffee, have undermined the traditional organization of
age-villages. The old men are no longer prepared to move to
[361] make way for their sons and, without a new deal in land each
generation, the territorial separation of the generations is blurred.
[161] Boys villages are no longer visible in the hills near Rungwe
mission, partly because so many young men are away, either at school or in employment, but largely because most of the land is taken up with coffee gardens. Homesteads are being built farther apart as men lay out coffee round their houses, and sons often build on a corner of their father's estate instead of in a separate village. On the plain, also, the pressure of population blurs the boundaries between generations. Only in the least heavily populated middle belt are numerous boys' villages still clearly visible, and here too a 'coming out' has recently been celebrated, with some redistribution of land. The scarcest land, that in old volcanic craters, was always inherited, like cattle, not reallocated each generation, and almost all cultivated land is now treated in this way. In many chiefdoms, therefore, a young man looks to his father or senior brother for land, rather than to the village headman,
[428] and inheritance is supremely important. But the form of
inheritance is changing: property now goes directly from father to son, not as formerly to each of a group of full brothers before reverting to the senior son of the eldest of them. The claims of more distant kinsmen on inherited stock are less than they used to be; such stock becomes the exclusive property of father and sons, rather than property in which members of a lineage of three or
[613] four generations have reciprocal rights. The main economic bond
which held the lineage together, the exchange of cattle, is thus broken.

Formerly a marriage was a contract between lineages rather
[583] than between individuals. A girl was betrothed before puberty to a
[581] man of her father's choice and should he die she was still regarded
as married to his heir. Should she die a sister replaced her. Ideally a marriage bond between lineages lasted for generations, each man who died being replaced by a brother or son, each woman by a sister or brother's daughter. The choice of a partner in marriage

was not an individual one. True, a girl gave her formal consent in 177
the marriage ritual, but the pressure on her to accept the husband
selected for her by her kinsmen was almost irresistible. In the [581]
thirties Christian women who refused their husband's heir and [583]
lived alone, or married an unrelated man of their choice, were
regarded by their pagan sisters as very daring, and little girls in
pagan families took it as a matter of course that they should
replace their dead sisters; today the right of a widow to choose [587]
whom she will marry is generally accepted, and the custom of
replacing a dead woman by her sister has lapsed. 'Every girl
wants her own husband nowadays', the old women say. Thus
lineage obligations give way to individual freedom of choice in
marriage. At the same time the rituals which emphasized the
lineage are dropped or modified. The fearful fecundity of a double [845]
birth no longer appals men and the twin ritual which used to
bring together all the living members of a lineage of three generations
is not celebrated at all. At a puberty ritual a pagan girl may [881]
be given the *ilipiki* medicine, the symbol of 'the blood of the
lineage' by her mother, but there is no seclusion and elaborate
feasting, no sacrifice of the bull of puberty that her father's shades
may 'move aside a little' to make way for the shades of her
husband's lineage. Only at a funeral do kinsmen still gather and [764]
celebrate, for many still fear the shades, and at a funeral the heir
is installed and the importance of property and the inheritance of it
has not diminished one whit. As we have seen, the traditional
religion was formulated in terms of kinship; the gods were senior [776]
kinsmen; but today God, *Kyala*, is no ancestor; to pagans as well [775]
as to Christians he is separate and supreme. Men are still classified
by their lineages, and one of the topics of village questions is how
Prince Charles can be heir to the British throne when his father is
not of the house of Windsor; but already in the economic field, [594]
and increasingly in the religious, it is the family of parents and [613]
children which is now dominant, not the lineage.

Divorce is far more frequent than formerly, partly because
women claim a greater freedom of behaviour than before, as well [586]
as the right of choosing their own husbands, and are supported by
the courts. As one village headman put it, 'Formerly a father beat
his daughter with a stick if she ran home and sent her back to her
husband who also beat her.' The women reject the old pattern of
subservience which was expressed in crouching to greet a man, and
addressing him in a very deferential fashion; the men observe, and

177 some copy, the manners of Europeans towards their wives, but
[586] neither husband nor wife is quite sure what the change in manners
implies, and both are often inconsistent in their behaviour. As
an educated Nyakyusa put it: 'They do not know what to expect
from each other.'

[585] Marriage relationships are complicated by the disproportion
[162] in the numbers of men and women; a disproportion which
continues while the rule of monogamy is preached and accepted
[582] by many. The first effect of the increase in wealth in Rungwe
district was for the marriage age of women to go down; in Mr.
Punch's phrase 'too many cattle were chasing too few wives';
but the combined pressure of missions and Administration, and
some acquaintance with the customs of the outside world, has
reversed that tendency, and the marriage of girls below puberty,
which was general among pagans in 1938, now appears to be
exceptional. Many girls are still betrothed before puberty, but
[584] they do not go to their husbands until after that time, and to be
still single at puberty with no betrothed to play his part in the
ritual is no longer embarrassing to a girl, for the puberty ritual is
not celebrated in full. The ruling of the District Council that a
man may not recover more than *one* cow given for a girl who has
not reached puberty, if the marriage is dissolved, discourages
men from giving cattle for girls who have not grown up. At the
[582] same time the marriage age of men is going down. Marriage in the
early twenties or even the late teens is common now, for young
men who have been to work on the mines can buy marriage cattle
for themselves, and Christians who are well-to-do provide for the
marriages of young sons instead of taking additional wives.
Therefore the gap in the marriage age of men and women is very
considerably diminished, but it still exists, and combined with the
disproportion in the total number of males and females it means
that a considerable proportion of the women (perhaps 30 per cent)[1]
must become the junior wives of polygynists or remain unmarried
altogether, or live alone as widows.

Among pagans polygyny is approved, but young men are
595 irked by their responsibility for elderly widows, a responsibility
that was formerly accepted as a matter of course. Able-bodied
wives are still economically an asset even now that trade goods are
in general use. For Nyakyusa men—pagans—have insisted that as

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[1] The masculinity rate is calculated at 87·9 : 100 (*vide supra*) and the *average* difference in the marriage age may well be six years.

their wives took to wearing cloth they should earn it for themselves 177
by growing and selling millet and brewing beer, and many
women do the clearing and hoeing in their fields, work that used to [595]
fall to men; but it is difficult for a chief to refuse to provide a man [462]
to hoe the ridges in his wife's field, or to refuse an elderly woman a
cloth or some salt, and young heirs grumble much about their
encumbrances.

In the political field there has been a sustained attempt to make
local government more democratic and to include in it the educated [648]
men. Between 1891, when the German Government first assumed
control of the area, and 1938, the tendency was for the power of [643]
the chiefs to be increased at the expense of that of the commoners.
This was admitted by the chiefs themselves, as we have seen.
In 1949 there was established a system of Rural Councils, on [646]
which chiefs, village headmen (*amafumu*), and ordinary commoners
are represented. Four[1] of each category are chosen as representa-
tives on the Council in their area by an electoral college itself
elected by all taxpayers. Rungwe District is divided into five areas. [643]
The policy of treating some chiefs as senior to others has been [622]
abandoned and each of the seventy-eight recognized rulers
(*abatwa*) is eligible for election as a chief's representative on his [646]
local Rural Council. Village headmen (two from each chiefdom)
and the ordinary commoners are similarly chosen. The five Rural
Councils in turn elect one man of each sort to the District Council.[2]
The system allows for, and seems to have achieved, a combination [554]
of men with traditionally high status and those who are con-
spicuous by reason of their education or success as coffee or rice
farmers. The old feeling that education was not necessary to a
chief's son, though it might be useful to a poor man, has vanished,
and a considerable number of the educated leaders of the district
are sons or grandsons of chiefs. The elected president of the
District Council, Mr. Gordon Mwansasu (186) is of the Nyakyusa
chiefs' lineage, though not of the most senior line. In the Rural
Councils the presidents elected have all, with one exception, been
ruling chiefs, but it is not necessarily the genealogically senior
who is chosen. There is scope for selection on the grounds of [555]
character and ability.

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[1] Five in the populous plain, Ntebela (MuNgonde).

[2] cf. Z. E. Kingdon, 'The Initiation of a System of Local Government by African Rural Councils in Rungwe District of Tanganyika', *Journal of African Administration*, vol. iii, 4 (1951).

177 The office of chieftainship still carries high prestige and the District Council has actually resolved to select a paramount chief. [643] Competition for this position is fierce and it remains to be seen [648] whether the Council will ever agree on a nomination. The persistent suggestion that the Administration should undertake the invidious task and select a paramount is scarcely likely to be acted upon, since the Administration sees no necessity for establishing such an office.

Chiefs, assisted by their village headmen, are the executive officers of the Rural Councils, but they have lost their judicial functions. There are twenty-four recognized courts with a bench [692] of 'courtholders' appointed annually by the Rural Councils, and one superior court, but the annual appointment ceased in 1956 and [648] more permanent appointments were made. The aim is to develop a specialized judiciary independent of the executive. There is also a very important class of full-time civil servants, secretaries of the District and Rural Councils, and clerks of the courts.

The position of village headman is in a fluid state. Where the [622] 'coming out' ritual has been dropped, the traditional occasion for the formal appointment of village headmen no longer arises, and old men continue in office much longer than before. When a headman dies his heir sometimes takes his position or, if neither the heir nor a junior son will accept it, some other man is appointed by the chief. There is evidence that in many chiefdoms men are reluctant to undertake the position, which carries no salary but involves a considerable amount of work and makes it difficult or impossible for a man to engage in paid employment either within or outside the District. As one woman put it, 'Money has killed the office of village headman' (*Indalama sigogile ubufumu*). There is some evidence from the lake-shore plain, however, of men competing for the office, and indeed of a son claiming in the courts the headmanship his father held. Possibly the competition for land on the plain, and the fact that the allocation of land lies with the village headman, account for this. When all the arable land is taken up, it is probable that acquisition will be [622] through inheritance or sale only, and the present headman's [423] power to allocate land is likely to vanish; but one of the most important assets of a village is its pasture-land, and in controlling and developing this the headman may well play a decisive part in the future. Since village headmen are essential executive officers in local administration, and are integrated into the new system of

Councils, the importance of establishing machinery for their 177
appointment in chiefdoms where the 'coming out' is no longer [622]
held is obvious. [423]

The traditional communal rituals have not been dropped
altogether, but their celebration is sporadic and not everyone [561]
supports them. Careful enquiries suggest that in less than half of [796]
the chiefdoms has the 'coming out' been celebrated when it was
due. In the most conservative portion of the district, Selya, there [643]
were celebrations in 1952 and 1954, but even in that area a number of the ruling chiefs have never 'come out'. The omission is due partly to the desire of the old men to retain office, partly to the increase in population and the planting of coffee which makes any new deal in land unacceptable, and partly to the feeling of many that the old ritual is an anachronism, if not directly incompatible with their new faith in Christianity. Some chiefs who have not 'come out' would welcome a celebration; one such told us that 'if the "coming out" died chieftainship would die'; but a young chief's
personal wishes are not decisive in this matter. Sacrifices at the [782]
groves of chiefs and heroes are not as frequent as before, but they
still occur at some groves in time of drought or other emergency. [769]
The Kinga came to Lubaga in 1954, and they were expected to come and instal Kasitile's heir in 1955. In 1954 also there were sacrifices to Mwaijonga (82) and Mwakisambwe (30) for it was a season of scarcity. Rituals for cleansing the country and sprinkling the homesteads occur sporadically 'when occasion demands', but
not annually in any chiefdom and never in some. And when
celebrations do occur they do not unite the people of a chiefdom [771]
as they used to do. Christians oppose them and many non-Christians are also sceptical.

In 1935 the traditional rituals celebrated by lineages and chief-
doms formed a coherent system. They were directed towards the [769]
shades and the heroes, as was manifest in the sacrifices and in [796]
the dramas of death and rebirth when those secluded 'dwelt with the shades' or were 'caught hold of' by Kyala.[1] The older participants were then conscious, in greater or lesser degree, of the symbolism implicit in the actions they performed. By 1955 the ritual cycle was nowhere celebrated in full: what remained were 'bits and pieces' of ritual, none of them fully intelligible without reference to the complete cycle. The link between the rites and the shades and the heroes was less clear, and the symbolism less

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[1] *Vide supra*, pp. 27-48, 70-85; *Rituals of Kinship*, pp. 51, 98, 101, 111-13, 205.

177 conscious. This disintegration of a former coherence, and a
[769] decreasing awareness of the meaning of symbols used, are perhaps
[796] characteristic of changing societies in Africa.

Despite the growth of the Christian Church, the great demand
for schools, and the dropping of the old rituals directed to family
[754] shades and the heroes, belief in the power of medicines flourishes.
[778] Probably most deaths and misfortunes are still attributed to an
enemy using either witchcraft or sorcery. The traditional belief
in witchcraft is rejected by educated people, but belief in the
power of medicines is general. Autopsies still take place and
occasionally the poison ordeal is administered in secrecy; one case
was mentioned which occurred in 1942. As we have seen, medicines
have always been regarded as a potential instrument of
individual competition. They are used in the rituals of kinship
to ensure health, fertility, and good manners and morals; in the
ritual of chieftainship to buttress authority, and in 'sprinkling the
homesteads' to fertilize the fields; but also by individuals to steal
the fertility of their neighbours' fields and to grow rich at the
expense of their neighbours, and it is their use as an instrument of
individual aggrandisement that is most talked of today. There were
many reports of their use by rivals to office as chiefs, and the floods
of 1955, which washed away the Mbaka bridge and caused a
serious landslide on that river, were interpreted as incidents in a
[578] prolonged fight between chiefs who were rivals for the position of
paramount. The deaths of the heir of one of them in 1953, and of
the other chief himself in 1956, were also attributed to their duel
with medicines.

Along with the political changes there has been a development
797 of the Churches, more particularly of the Moravian Church,
which is now largely self-supporting, with growing congregations
795 served by African ministers.[1] Until 1938 the two main Protestant
177 missions in Nyakyusa valley, the Moravian and Lutheran, were
staffed by Germans and their funds came mainly from Germany.
The war meant the withdrawal of the missionaries and the
cutting off of funds. After a lapse of three years one Moravian
missionary, and later one Lutheran, came to take charge of the
missions and they were reinforced by other missionaries after the
end of the war, but the whole policy in both missions is to build up
self-supporting churches staffed by African pastors.

The work of the White Fathers mission was not interrupted by

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[1] Change in Ngonde is not discussed.

the war and the form of its activities has not altered appreciably. 177
Three other missions based elsewhere now have small congrega- 797
tions in the District and a Lutheran pastor under discipline broke 795
away and formed his own 'independent' Church, which differs from the other 'independent' Churches in that the rule of monogamy is enforced.

The total number of converts has increased very considerably, much more than keeping pace with the increase in population; taking the three main missions together, their converts form over [162]
14 per cent of the total population.[1] Figures for the five mission Churches with small congregations in the District—Pentecostal Holiness, Assemblies of God, Seventh Day Adventists, Anglican, and Watch Tower—are not available. Nor do we know the membership of one of the 'independent' African Churches, but supposing the membership of the missions with small congregations in the District to be 2,000 (a conservative estimate) the percentage claiming to be Christian is 24 per cent as against 16 per cent in 1938. Dissimilarities in the response to Christian teaching in different areas are very marked. Around Rungwe, the main Moravian mission-station, the bulk of the population is Christian, and the whole atmosphere is that of a Christian community, whereas in Selya, where mission work began in 1891 as it did in Rungwe, Christians still form a small minority in dominantly pagan chiefdoms. The reasons for this difference are complex. One factor is that Selya is geographically isolated whereas Rungwe is near a main road and within easy reach of the Government and trading centre Tukuyu; but much more important have been differences in mission policy regarding education, and differences in the personalities of missionaries, chiefs, and early converts.

The change from a society based on kinship to one based on 177
voluntary association is apparent in the economic field as well as in 474
the religious. Co-operative societies formed by producers of coffee 454
and rice, which collect and market the crops, and give opportunity

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[1] Figures supplied by the courtesy of the missionaries directing each mission and the leaders of two 'independent' Churches were as follows for 1954:

Moravians		29,390
Lutheran		10,000 (approximately)
Roman Catholic		4,700
Last Church (Ngemela) (Also called 'Native Mission')	('independent')	10,721
'African Lutheran Church'	('independent')	200

177 for the local investment of savings are the most important [474] economic undertaking in the District. The seven coffee co-[454] operatives handled a crop of 950 tons in 1955, worth about £427,500, and are organized so efficiently as to be able to return over 90 per cent of the price of the coffee on Moshi market to the producer, after the heavy transport costs (14 per cent) have been paid. One Government-paid officer assists these societies.

In the educational and recreational field also, associations are 526 emerging: football clubs; companies of Scouts and Guides; 575 'Welfare Centres' with classes in reading for adult illiterates, 177 indoor games, and Saturday-night dances; Women's Clubs for handwork and recreation; and in Tukuyu itself an inter-racial club with its own premises, whose members meet to play games, and get to know one another and discuss common problems. These associations make a visible mark on the face of the country in the shape of new brick Churches, co-operative stores, football fields, and, more rarely, a village club-house.

The change from a subsistence to a money economy, and from a 177 system of government through chiefs and village headmen who 651 were dependent primarily on inherited wealth, which secured to them the labour of many able-bodied wives and sons, to a system of government through European officials, chiefs, and clerks paid out of taxes, and assisted by unpaid village headmen, implies the collection and administration of taxes. The District Council has the responsibility for the budgeting and expenditure of over 177 £60,000 per annum. The greater part of it is spent on the salaries 652 of chiefs, secretaries, and clerks engaged in administration, on courts, on schools, dispensaries, and roads. The development of associations with paid officers also implies the collection of dues and budgeting. As in so many countries the difficulty of building 177 up a tradition of honesty in administration is great. Tax clerks, 685 court clerks, council secretaries, and co-operative society secretaries, and even church elders handle sums of money relatively large in proportion to their earnings and one of the tasks of European officials and missionaries is to secure a sound system of accounting and check corruption. In the traditional society stock theft was a capital offence, but money has not the sanctity of cattle, and often the clerk who has appropriated public funds is treated by others as 'unfortunate' rather than immoral. At the same time villagers show great anxiety lest a man entrusted with some common fund should spend it for himself. The risk of theft ublic funds is greater than in England, but it should be added t a European may camp in a Nyakyusa village with nothing ked, and never lose so much as a box of matches.

n attempt has been made to describe the sort of changes which proceeding in BuNyakyusa. They are not peculiar to that area, will be familiar to most people who have lived in Africa. Now turn to the sociological analysis.

rticular symbols are tied to a particular social structure; the poet 182
akes his choice within the whole range of the familiar. 181

The impetus to change has come both from the religious field 178
d from the secular. For example, the pressure towards mono-
amy among the Nyakyusa has been religious; given plentiful 178
nd and cash crops additional wives are an economic asset, not a 797
ability. In this respect the contrast with the Ciskei in South 795
frica, where families are dependent for food on wage-earners in
wns, and no man can support two families,[1] is marked. On the
ther hand, the decay of Nyakyusa age-villages is primarily due
economic pressure, though it is facilitated by the insistence of
hristians that there is no danger in father-in-law and daughter-
-law meeting one another. The first generation of Christians
ving on mission land built villages apart for their sons, despite
e teaching that avoidance of a father-in-law by his daughter-
-law was foolish, if not sinful. But a radical change in pagan
bservance of ritual avoidance is brought about by the general
ractice of going out to work for long periods, and the competition
r coffee and rice-lands, which makes the territorial separation of
athers and sons impossible. As we have shown, young men going
o work commonly leave their wives in their fathers' homesteads,
aluing the support and supervision given them there above the
ld stringency of avoidance and, where land is scarce and valuable,
athers do not move aside each generation to make way for their
ons. Avoidance between father-in-law and daughter-in-law [606]
continues only in an attenuated form.

From German times control by a European government has 177
compelled a modification of the traditional sacrifices to the heroes 648
and of the ritual of chieftainship. How the Kinga priests came to 796
Lubaga 'in secret' and how they failed to instal a new Lwembe
after the death of Mwakisisya about 1914 has been described.
Killing a child to anoint a drum or make medicine for the fields,
compelling a man to accept a dangerous office, killing chiefs
because they are ailing, or plucking off their nails before they die;
all these are actions which are held, and must be held, to be 'contrary to natural justice' by any Western government. Here the
change in political organization compels a change in ritual and
there is evidence that belief in the traditional forms is much
diminished, though not dead. The European government also

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[1] Keiskammahoek Rural Survey. Vol. ii, *The Economy of a Native Reserve*, by D. H. Houghton and E. M. Walton; vol. iii, *Social Structure*, by M. Wilson *et al.*

177 found the administration of the poison ordeal, driving out people
648 alleged to be witches, and killing supposed sorcerers 'contrary to
796 natural justice'. Here the change is not in the celebration of a ritual
but in the execution of 'justice' based on traditional religious beliefs.

The early missionaries were very important as employers of
797 labour and a market for produce; indeed at one time they were the
177 *sole* source of western trade-goods among the Nyakyusa. For long
they provided the only skilled medical attention. They were the source of new learning, teaching, from the start, reading and writing and new manual skills, and the link between learning and religion, so familiar in the history of Europe, is still strong. Therefore acceptance of Christianity *tended* to go along with acceptance of the new economic and political structure, but it was never identified with it. Already in the thirties a popular song contrasted Christians with Europeans, and African nationalism was finding expression in 'independent' Churches.

Secularism fits as well with the new economic and political
178 structure as Christianity, and it has been argued elsewhere that
171 one of the characteristics of the change from a small-scale, isolated,
648 self-sufficient people to a large-scale society is increasing secularism.[1]
The evidence from BuNyakyusa does not so far support this, but there is a *separation* of religious and other activities. Religion is not interwoven with the modern political system as it was with the old. Traditionally the fusion between ritual and political activities was almost complete; village headmen became priests as they grew old, and chiefs became gods. Now there is a separation between Church and state, between Government and mission, which co-operate closely only in the organization of schools. It is true that Christian congregations pray regularly for 'those set in authority over us', but for the most part religious ritual does not enter into state functions. The flag is hoisted and saluted at sunrise and sunset at administrative and military centres; certain occasions, such as the Queen's birthday or the visit of the Queen's representative, the Governor, are celebrated with secular ceremonial. Only at the Coronation, to which African representatives from Rungwe district were sent, did the state ceremonial and the Christian ritual merge.[2] Political tension is not now directly

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[1] R. Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, Chicago (1941); *A Village that Chose Progress*, Chicago (1950).

[2] 'The entire solemnity of the Coronation, from start to finish, is distinctly a religious rite.' Canon Charles Smyth, 'The Coronation Rite', *The Listener*, 28th May 1953.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I

In many areas of Eastern Africa the pressure of peasant populations 161 on their tribal lands is a critical feature of the contemporary scene, and this is most especially so in the more fertile parts where the African has [117] accepted the new cash economy and is beginning to appreciate the potentialities of the modern world. The situation has been highlighted recently [434] in the public mind by the publication of the Report of the East African Royal Commission[1] which examined the economic conditions of our time and made general recommendations.

In Tanganyika the overall density of population is low (22 persons per square mile) and the general scale of economic activity still remains little [433] above subsistence level over vast areas of Territory. There are, however, islands of extremely dense populations scattered through the country, often associated with the mountain areas, where soil is fertile, rainfall is reliable and adequate and the cultivation of crops for sale in world markets has [241] gone ahead fairly easily. These populations still comprise peasant farming communities with little capital and their "natural" impulse is to expand their extensive agricultural system rather than to intensify their cultivation on existing holdings. Serious overcrowding soon results for the favourable areas are limited and surrounded by drier bushlands. African attitudes and 177 legal customs concerning their land do not change quickly and they lag behind new conditions of physical limitation and economic development. Whilst the recommendations of the Royal Commission may be valuable in the establishment of general policy, it is obvious that detailed application through time demands a fairly exact knowledge and understanding of particular local conditions if it is to be reasonably successful. This is particularly the case in so large a country as Tanganyika, with its multiplicity of environments and tribal systems of law, land tenure and agriculture, and the social attitudes which encompass them.

The present essay is an attempt, sponsored by Government, to describe 121 and analyse the land and population conditions in one small area of the Territory where a cash economy is emerging and where the pressure of a peasant population on its land resources has become acute. It is hoped that some of this account may be applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to other similar areas both in Tanganyika and elsewhere, and that the conclusions reached may be helpful in dealing with the problems there; but primarily this is a study of one particular part of the country in order to provide the information upon which detailed policy may be founded.

The Nyakyusa are not entirely typical of many of the Bantu people of 101 East Africa for they have a most distinctive social organisation, peculiar to themselves, based on age-villages and petty, independent chiefdoms. Also, they inhabit a country whose annual rainfall is unusually high, averaging 132 about 100 inches. On the other hand, these people are one of the very few in Tanganyika for whom we have an excellent account of both their pre- 121 European and early European systems of land tenure. Based on this information, obtained *before* modern changes began, we can perceive, analyse [174]

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[1] *East African Royal Commission 1953-5, Report:* H.M.S.O. 1955. Cmd. 9475.

121 and try to understand the nature and reasons for change. Here, then, is a
good opportunity for the study of social change – not only in land tenure
as such, but also in village and family organisation, political authority and
economic life.

II

101 The Nyakyusa are a Bantu people inhabiting the main part of the
Rungwe District in southern Tanganyika, immediately to the north of Lake
161 Nyasa. In 1948 they numbered about 199,000 in that District, but about
10,000 men were probably at the time temporarily absent from their homes
[167] and in employment in the mines and towns of the Rhodesias and South
Africa (see Gulliver, 1957), whilst about 20,000 had migrated to live in the
[162] adjacent Mbeya District to the north.

The tribal area comprises a confined geographical basin surrounding
131 the northern end of Lake Nyasa. It extends only about 40 miles from the
tip of the lake at 1,550 feet above sea level to the Poroto Mountains in the
north at 8,000 feet; and from east to west is only about 30 miles, from the
[133] almost sheer walls of the Livingstone Mountains (with peaks up to 10,000
feet) to the Ndali Highlands (rising to about 7,000 feet). There are therefore
unusually large ecological differences within so small an area. Three major
regions are to be distinguished: the "Northern Highlands" over about 4,500
feet, the low-lying "Lake Plains" in the south, and the "Central Region" in
[132] between. Everywhere rainfall is reliable and high, averaging at least 100
inches annually[1], and this amply compensates for a certain poverty and
misuse of the soil, although (and particularly in the Central Region) it
262 brings dangers of soil erosion. Except in the highest parts the banana is the
staple food, supported by maize, beans, finger millet and groundnuts. In
the Northern Highlands coffee has become well established as the principal
245 cash crop: in the Lake Plains paddy rice cultivation provides both a food
243 and a cash crop: in the Central Region the country is too low generally for
coffee and too high and dry for rice; consequently cash-cropping is
[511] considerably inferior and the people's standard of living is rather poorer.

The Nyakyusa and their country tended for a long time to be relatively
133 isolated from the outside world by high mountain walls and rain-soaked
177 roads. In addition, or because of it perhaps, they developed an almost
[181] unique culture which was supported by considerable conservatism and high
insularity. They still continue to regard their African neighbours beyond
186 the mountains as their social and cultural inferiors. The turmoil of the
slave-trade in Central Africa passed them by; in modern times they have
177 not enthusiastically accepted Christianity and they have refused to take up
the use of Swahili, the Territorial *lingua franca*. In recent years, and most
797 especially since the end of World War II, they have, however, accepted
198 and pushed forward with vigour a rapid and extensive economic development,
involving particularly the production of coffee and paddy as cash
245 crops, and large-scale labour migration to the south in the high-wage mining
243 industries. The multiplicity of petty, often tiny, independent chiefdoms has
been reorganised to provide four local government areas, each under a
167 Rural Council, in which the old chiefdoms have become something like
parishes[2]. Although much of the old conservatism and narrow parochialism
631 persists, yet there is now an atmosphere of accepted change, of a keen
178 desire for economic development, and a general acceptance of a cash
economy.

Probably the most significant feature of modern life in the Nyakyusa
161 country is the increasing scarcity of land for agriculture in relation to the

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[1] At Tukuyu, in the Northern Highlands, annual rainfall averaged 99.28 inches between 1919 and 1952: at Kyela, in the Lake Plains, the average between 1940 and 1951 was 106.21 inches.

[2] See Kingdon, Z.E.: The initiation of a system of local government by African rural councils in the Rungwe District, Tanganyika; *The Journal of African Administration*, iii, 4, October, 1951.

people's needs. The importance of this can scarcely be overemphasised for a 161 peasant people who are adopting a cash economy and are socially and emo- tionally deeply attached to their land – their single, continuous source of 423 capital and their tribal heritage. Apart from the possibilities of labour migration which, so far at any rate, are taken up only temporarily and by the [167] younger men, there are no economic opportunities and no capital to compete with the land. In non-economic life the land remains supreme as the persisting basis of society.

As late as 1940 the District Commissioner, Rungwe, was able to write that there was most generally sufficient land for the people's needs in all parts of the country, and the only competition was perhaps in respect of the very best and most fertile tracts, as had always been the case. G. Wilson recorded similar remarks in the late nineteen-thirties. That these observations were correct cannot be doubted. [136] It is known, for instance, that until the post-war years in the Lake Plains – where now land shortage is most acute – [137] there was a broad belt of mainly unoccupied, uncultivated bushland, infested with game, extending from the Livingstone Mountains in the east to the Nyasaland border in the south-west. There were extensive, more or less empty areas in almost every chiefdom. The people were subsistence farmers only, [262] and also banana eaters, and in this well-watered country their agricultural requirements were adequately met on very modest holdings, from most of which two harvests a year could be gathered.

In the brief period of little more than ten years the situation has altered radically to the point of a general shortage of land (except for some parts in the north-west), and especially in the Lake Plains the available land is quite insufficient to meet the demands of the inhabitants. This critical change is the result partly of an increasing population, augmented by some immigration from other tribal areas; but more especially it is the result of the demands for larger arable holdings to meet cash crop aspirations – i.e., money earning. Although both coffee and paddy rice cultivation had begun before 1939, and both were encouraged and developed during the War years, it [433] was not until after 1945 that both of these cash crops became well and generally established and the demand for money incomes became universal.

III

It was in order to investigate this new situation, which was beginning 121 to become serious and to cause concern to Government, that I made a sociological survey in 1955. I had already spent some months in the country in 1954 investigating labour migration in order to provide Government with information and to make recommendations to deal with the problems arising. The second period of work occupied about five months. During both enquiries I was extremely fortunate in having the use of the excellent monographs of G. and M. Wilson who had carried out a conventional anthropological study of the Nyakyusa between 1934 and 1938. Without their basic work behind me, neither of my two studies would have been possible in so brief a time, and I must gratefully acknowledge the real value of their writings.

The intention had been that a complete enquiry should be made into Nyakyusa land conditions in all parts of the country, and that it should culminate in a full recording of tribal land law and custom with a view to its possible reform. In the event only the initial enquiry in the field in the Lake Plains was completed and the results of that alone are described in this essay. Whereas in former days there were probably few distinctive differences between the various parts of the country, in modern times with the introduction of different cash crops, [177] with differential population growths and varying demands on the land, important divergences seem to be arising. For example, one

161 If therefore, pending the next Census to be made in 1957, we assume these rates of increase, then by 1955 it may be estimated that the Nyakyusa numbered about 217,000 at an average density of 233 persons per square mile, allowing 13.7 acres of land per family of five. For the Lake Plains alone, the population in 1955 would have been nearly 60,000 at an average density of 287 persons per square mile, with 11.2 acres per family. If we also include the estimated number of absentee migrant labourers in the base year of 1948, then there were in 1955 perhaps 63,000 people dependent on the land resources of the Lake Plains at an average density of 303 per square mile, though in fact some 6,000 men were temporarily absent from home in that year.

The figures and estimates are given in Table I. These averages do, of course, hide some considerable and significant local variations which are further described at pages 14 ff. below.

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TABLE I
NYAKYUSA POPULATION

	1948 *Census*			1955 *Estimates*		
	a	*b*	*c*	*a*	*b*	*c*
Lake Plains at increase of 1% p.a.	55,700	268	11.9	59,700	287	11.2
Central Region at increase of 1½% p.a.	48,500	224	14.2	53,800	248	12.9
N.E. Highlands at increase of 1½% p.a.	40,300	183	17.4	44,700	203	15.8
N.W. Highlands at increase of 1½% p.a.	53,200	185	17.3	59,000	205	15.6
NYAKYUSA in tribal area	197,700	212	15.2	217,200	233	13.7

a = population
b = persons per square mile on land available for African use.
c = average acreage available per family of 5 persons.

Assuming that there were in 1948 about 3,000 men temporarily absent from their homes in the Lake Plains but who remained dependent on the land resources of that region, then the following estimate may be made:–

Lake Plains – persons resident at home and temporarily abroad:–

a	*b*	*c*	*a*	*b*	*c*
58,700	282	11.3	62,935	303	10.6

The approximate areas available for African use in the tribal lands (excluding alienated land, forest reserves and main roads) are:–

Lake Plains – 208 sq. miles
N.E. Highlands – 220 sq. miles
Central Region – 217 sq. miles
N.W. Highlands – 288 sq. miles
BuNyakyusa – 933 sq. miles

In these calculations no account is taken of unusable land such as swamps, steep slopes, thicket, etc.

Cash Cropping: Paddy Cultivation

433 This condition of a high density of population exists in a modern
432 economy in which cash-cropping is universally accepted and desired. Under
the former subsistence agriculture, because of heavy rainfall and natural
annual flooding, quite small-sized holdings were adequate to satisfy a
family's food requirements. Two harvests a year are easily obtained in some
241 combination of maize, beans, groundnuts and finger millet, with a few small
"luxury" crops; and the banana groves yield continuously. The Nyakyusa
were and are extremely fortunate in their food supply, and seldom experience
shortages such as occasionally or even commonly afflict many peoples of
East Africa.

243 Rice was first introduced in 1896 by two chiefs who obtained the seed
[141] from Nyasaland Arabs; and in 1898 the Moravian Mission and a Swahili

trader brought in other seed. The trader himself planted a large plot and his 243
success seems to have stimulated the Nyakyusa to follow suit. There was a [177]
slow but gradual development of planting and by 1932 it was estimated that some 500 tons of hand-hulled rice were sold. It had become clear that the alluvial flood plains around the northern tip of Lake Nyasa were ideally suited to paddy growing. Until 1942 the people continued to hand-hull their
crop and sell the rice, but in that year they were persuaded to sell the paddy [432]
direct to a locally established mill. Following initial difficulties in milling, handling and marketing, the Government built a store capable of holding
14,000 bags and it also took over the whole of the marketing with a seconded [636]
District Officer in charge. In 1947 the cultivators formed their first co-operative society. This movement has been encouraged by Government and the local Co-operative Union now deals with storage and marketing with the guidance of a Government Co-operative Officer.

The figures of sales of rice and paddy are given in Table II.[1]

Paddy has become a well-established crop, not only as the single cash crop of the region, but also as a food crop second only (or even equal) to the traditionally staple banana. About four-fifths of all arable holdings are paddy fields – though parts of these are used for dry season crops of maize, beans, etc. Virtually every Nyakyusa land-holder now grows paddy, and the vast majority regard it as their main crop. Cultivation is mainly by
ox-plough followed by broadcast sowing and hand-weeding. Government [242]
efforts to encourage nurseries and planting out in rows have so far been entirely unsuccessful. Yields and perhaps quality too are thought to be lower than need be; the chief factor in production seems to be the degree of natural flooding during the wet season.

TABLE II

SALES OF RICE AND PADDY, 1932-56* [433]

	tons		*tons*
1932	500	1945	1,200
1933	600	1946	2,700
1934	600	1947	3,300
1935	600	1948	2,100
1936	700	1949	3,700
1938	700	1950	2,300
1939	1,200	1951	1,200
1940	1,500	1952	2,000
1941	1,600	1953	5,700
1942	2,200	1954	5,900
1943	2,800	1955	5,700
1944	2,900	1956	3,000

*1932-41—hand-hulled rice, estimates only.
1942-47—paddy, sold through Government agency.
1948-56—paddy, sold through cultivators' co-operatives.

The cultivation of paddy requires relatively large-sized holdings due to the nature of the crop and the local extensive method of agriculture – for example, to produce a given income requires a far larger area of paddy in the
Lake Plains than of coffee in the Northern Highlands of Nyakyusa country. [423]
As paddy cultivation became established, men increased their arable holdings in order to earn their money incomes. Larger holdings, rather than improved agricultural techniques, have become directly connected with higher incomes, and so the demand for more land set in. Assisted by the now general use of ploughs, paddy growing increased rapidly wherever it was found ecologically possible – i.e., within the alluvial flood plains and the coterminous area of annual natural flooding. Before this new demand for land emerged there were, even in the most highly populated parts, extensive areas which were more or

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[1] Information has been supplied by the Co-operative Officer, Tukuyu.

243 [423] [311] less uncultivated. These areas can easily be picked out today by the absence of village sites and banana groves. There was something of a rush to grab land in such areas and in the less densely populated parts of the chiefdoms. Today in my personal experience – for no general survey has been attempted – there remains little or no unused land within the paddy-growing region which can, by native techniques, be brought under the plough; and indeed men are attempting to grow paddy on unsuitably raised land where inundation is inadequate. Communal cattle pastures have shrunk as arable holdings extended until they remain only where cultivation is profitless.

571 311 434 The demand for land has far outrun the physical supply, and in 1955 it still seemed to be insatiable. The initial cycle was that a desire for more money to permit of a higher standard of living created a demand for more land on which to produce more cash crops; but the increased level of income then further stimulated money demands to raise standards higher again, thus bringing a renewed demand for land. The cycle has now been halted by the lack of further land to meet the people's needs, but the demand remains nevertheless and is indeed increased by rising costs of living.

511 178 This economic picture is, of course, oversimplified, but it may serve to illustrate the nature of forces at work in the situation. I would not wish to overemphasise the snowball effect, for the bulk of the population remains still largely content with only a little over earlier standards; but increasing numbers of men and their families are coming to seek something better. Bicycles have become something of a general necessity; a variety of good clothing and shoes is considered quite essential. Only a single decade before [291] the Nyakyusa women still generally went about in the traditional nudity, whereas in 1955 they must have ranked among the very best-dressed African [177] women in the Territory. European-type household goods, crockery and utensils are common. The demand for money, that is for a higher standard of living, has also been greatly stimulated by the experiences of the thousands of labour migrants returning from southern towns and mines, and by the cash and goods they bring back with them.[1]

434 243 511 It is not possible for me to attempt to suggest what a desirable acreage would be for a contemporary Nyakyusa, because money demands, crop yields and selling prices change and the desire for higher standards of living also alter as the potentialities of the new cash economy are increasingly understood. In 1954 the approximate average of Sh.200/- per paddy cultivator was earned from perhaps two or three acres of arable land, but an indeterminable amount of the crop was kept back for home food requirements. As will be shown later many men's paddy fields could have been little more than an acre, and many men, specifically young men, had no paddy land at all. Certainly there were few who held what they considered, at a reasonable estimate, to be sufficient land.

[161] This universal cash crop agriculture and the continuing demand for higher standards of living, and therefore for higher money incomes, is the real cause of the new and rather sudden pressure of population on the land. Of course this economic process operates within a situation of relatively dense population and in a peasant community where land is almost the only form of capital and alternative enterprise is small. The gradual increase of population, although probably small, further aggravates the difficult situation.

Arable Holdings

511 311 434 [161] It was not possible to obtain adequate, satisfactory data to allow the calculation of local population densities, and the detailed results of the 1948

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[1] In Gulliver, P. H.: 1957, an estimate of the cash incomes of Nyakyusa in 1954 is given at pp. 51-2. Data on the cash brought back by returning labour migrants are given at p. 55.

423 of the father. The old principle that every man had the right to arable land 167 applied no less strongly to the young men, married or bachelors. Today most headmen will refuse to entertain the applications of young bachelors [178] for land, and in this they merely represent general public opinion. But many young husbands likewise cannot obtain land, or only an insufficient amount.

Consequently, the following case-history, which I recorded for one young man, is not unusual. In 1955 he lived in the Mlangali young-men's hamlet, attached to Mpunguti village in Mwakipesile's chiefdom, where his father lives. He was about 27 years old and had a wife and one child. Twice he had been to work in the mines and from the profits of this employment he had completed his bridewealth payment and had bought, in addition, three cattle, a bicycle and some good clothing. He thought he would prob- [244] ably go away again. Behind his house his wife had about 300 square yards of bananas and there was a tiny patch of cassava. This man had no other land, [245] but he assisted in the heavy labour on his father's holding (about 1.7 acres in all) and by family convention he normally took for his own use the paddy crop of a small strip there; he insisted, however, that he had not been given this strip outright and that it remained at his father's pleasure. He had an unmarried half-brother about 22 years old who had not obtained even that concession at the time. Their father was about 55 years old and had two other sons who were still boys. The young man himself had been refused an allocation of land by the headman on the grounds that (as the headman well knew) he had the use of this strip of his father's land, and also because, as the eldest son, he would be the principal heir on his father's death. He was clearly worried about his future, for he did not wish to go abroad again and leave his wife and child; but he did not see how he could stay at home [511] without seriously lowering his standard of living to little above subsistence level.

I quote this brief case-history not necessarily as typical – though I think it probably is – but as an actual illustration of the present state of affairs as they affect an individual.

The Modern "Chief" and the Land

643 Most of the traditional chiefs, *abanyafyale*, have been recognised and salaried under the Native Authority, and they are officially referred to today 631 as *abatwa* (s. *ntwa*). Some of the smallest chiefdoms have been absorbed administratively by their larger neighbours, and, although they are still recognised by the people, their *abanyafyale* have lost very much of their earlier prestige and authority. In the Lake Plains the modern chiefdoms are often rather larger than is usual amongst the Nyakyusa,[1] but they are, of course, small in comparison with the size of most African chiefdoms in Tanganyika.

643 The slightness of the traditional authority of the chief in land matters has already been noted (pages 7-8) and in general this still holds. In European times, however, the recognised chiefs have been given an increased authority [554] and prestige as the local intermediaries between Government and people, [199] and until recent years they were almost the only local instruments of the Government amongst the Nyakyusa. They have been backed by the all-powerful European, who preferred to deal with single, recognised individuals [498] thought to have prime authority in a locality, and the European officer has been encouraged in this notion by an over-enthusiastic policy of indirect rule. Such chiefs were able to assume a degree of power well beyond the traditional limits, and to aggrandize themselves thereby. The ordinary commoner was never quite sure how far his chief was individually claiming more than he

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[1] On the numerical sizes of chiefdoms see supra, page 6.

[P.238A]

241 Other foodstuffs grown are coca-yams, cow peas, pigeon peas, Bambarra groundnuts, ginger, cardamon, groundnuts, wheat, pumpkins, peppers, citrus, sugar cane and European
● [177] vegetables, including a quantity of European potatoes.

Economic Crops

245 One of the main cash crops is coffee, which was introduced about 1900 by the Berlin
177 Lutheran Mission, but it was not grown by natives until 1930 when an attempt was made to organize an industry. It had already been tried from 1924 onwards by Europeans but had gradually died out, giving place to tea.

245 Native coffee has not been truly successful and many reasons are suspected for this. In effect, the coffee suffers from many pests and diseases and yields are so low as to be almost uneconomical even to a tribe of very low individual annual income. It has become obvious that coffee can only be grown by natives if shaded by bananas and mulched heavily with banana trash. Multiple-stem pruning is gaining favour.

Seedlings are planted out in December and the first crop is obtained four years after. The area planted rose in 1939 to 5,864 acres and the number of native planters to 7,966. Yields, however, are low, varying from 131.4 kg. to 20.4 kg. parchment to the acre. Hemeleia
[136] leaf disease and yellow and white borer are prevalent all over the coffee-growing area. Over the period since 1932 the price paid to natives has averaged 44 cents a kg. for parchment.

All coffee is collected and sold by Native
[438] Authority after rough grading and, in order to
[432] encourage better preparation, much lower payments are made for the inferior grades. A native staff is employed to visit coffee plots and to give instructions, and it is noticeable that the quality of preparation varies with the price.

175 The cultivation of rice on the lake shore was started by Chief Koroso in 1896 with seed
243 obtained from Arab traders in Nyasaland and the Moravian Mission issued further seed in 1898. Being an innovation, rice was not popular and little was grown except for small
[651] local sales. In 1917 the Government issued seed and tax was paid in rice instead of money. Interest was hereby aroused and the cultivation of rice was started. In 1932 several other kinds of seed were issued and now sixteen varieties
243 are found. "Faya", which was issued in 1929, gives the best yields and is the variety chiefly grown, other varieties being Bungala, Marula

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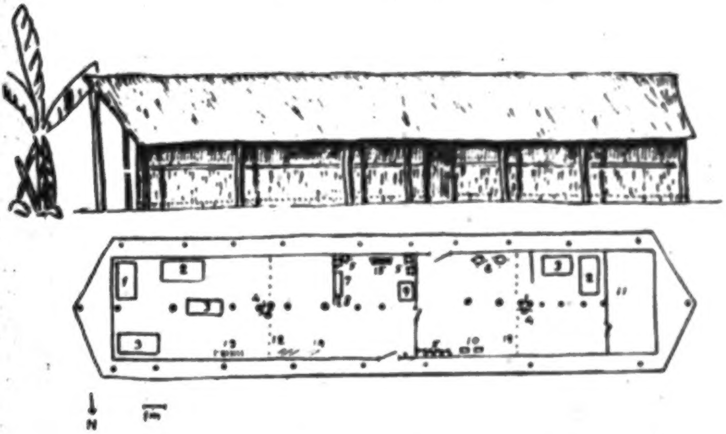

An *ikibaga* in the village of Kisondela, the district of Rutengalo, belonging to a man with two wives. The rooms have bamboo ceilings from dotted lines to either gable. Posts reaching to ridge of roof are filled in. 1, husband's bed; 2, wife's bed; 3, child's bed; 4, hearth; 5, hens' nests; 6, water jar; 7, roost; 8, ladder; 9, table; 10, stools; 11, store-room; 12, dotted lines show limitation of ceiling; 13, small objects; 14, working material; 15, sleeping mat.

born. On page 357, he reports how the boys, when 7 or 10 years old, will leave
their parents' house to live in long, rectangular cowhouse-like houses big or small,
in a special youngsters' quarter at the far end of the village. On page 358 he
writes: In many cases you do not know for certain whether you are dealing with [343]
a youngsters' house or a cowhouse—for the cattle may well be kept in these
houses—or the herdsmen may sleep in the cowhouses. However, this mostly holds [184
true of the low-lying Konde country, while on the other hand, in the high country, 231]
the cattle is usually kept in the dwelling houses. On pages 371 and 372, he relates
how the cattle is tied to posts at night, and he shows a picture of a cowhouse.

He also refers (on page 376) to the use of the rectangular house for married
men besides the boys. The difference is seen in the fact that these houses are not [462]
roughcast with mud, as this work is the province of women. Finally, he reports
that, during the last few years of his stay in the Konde country, he saw Konde [177]
houses being built under increasing influence of the coastal culture, in imitation
of the Swahili houses. They were roughcast with mud inside and out, and had a
verandah supported by posts.

In 1955, many *ikabagas* could be seen. Some were for the cattle, but most
were dwelling houses for married people. (Boys aged 7–10 and upwards until the [824
marriageable age lived in ramshackle boys' houses, the material of which was not
bamboo, but a thinner grass, resembling bamboo very much. These houses stood 855]

12: Bisgaard E-5 (1955) 1962 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

352 two water jars, baskets, stools, a ladder leading to the loft, and a table. The rooms
415 were large and spacious, 5 m by 14 m, and in two places low partitions were
353 used to effect a sub-division of the rooms. One may well wonder at the great
length of these houses, but probably it is quite true what is said, that, when—in
342 1891—the Germans took charge of the region and imposed a tax on houses, the
● 177 Nyakyusa men made their women move in under their own roofs—only at the
same time extending the houses, using the technique they already knew from
the cowhouses.

Fülleborn reports on this payment of taxes, and finds it reasonable enough,
648 because, he says, "it fosters in the people an understanding of work and discipline,"
178 and of the house tax he says, "it works to abolish polygamy, since every woman,
342 following the traditions of her country, has her own house, for which her husband
must pay the tax."

But the Banyakyusa seems to have adapted themselves to the new law and have moved their wives to the very long houses, thus escaping part of the taxes...

The third type of house was a rectangular house with a hipped roof. This type
342 is called *ikema*, which means tent. It was also called *istoro*, the meaning of which
I have not been able to ascertain; maybe it means chicken-breast, to which it
bears much likeness.

This is the modern house-type to which Fülleborn may be referring when he talks about rectangular houses, ". . the very rare instances when a hipped roof is seen - -." (page 379).

According to statements made by people who have lived in the district for a
342 third of a century, this type of house is thought to have come from the south some
177 20 years ago. I have not visited the Ngonde who live farther south, but Sir Harry
Johnston (1897) depicts a group of people called "Wankonde (North Nyasa)" in front of a house which looks very much like the modern *ikema* of the Banyakyusa. It seems therefore reasonable to assume that the roof-construction design of the Ngonde has now reached the district of the Banyakyusa. Johnston also informs us that the rectangular type is not actually the original type in East Africa, but that it was probably introduced by the Arabs.

This *ikema* or *istoro* is shorter than the long *ikibaga*; seldom more than 11
342 metres in length. But its interior design does not differ. For instance, this holds
true of the placing of the hearth, of the equal distance between posts supporting the roof, of the bamboo ceiling covering about half the room, of half-partitions from bamboo and in some cases mud, of store-rooms in the far end of the house, accessible through an inner door.

[592] In an *ikema* I have never seen more than one hearth, which means that the
house is inhabited by one woman. A house in the village of Kikota presented an example of the peculiar tradition of the peoples of the Highlands, viz. the tying of the cattle to posts in the dwelling-houses. My drawings are all from the Highlands, where, in the *ikibagas*, as also noted by Fülleborn, the same tradition is

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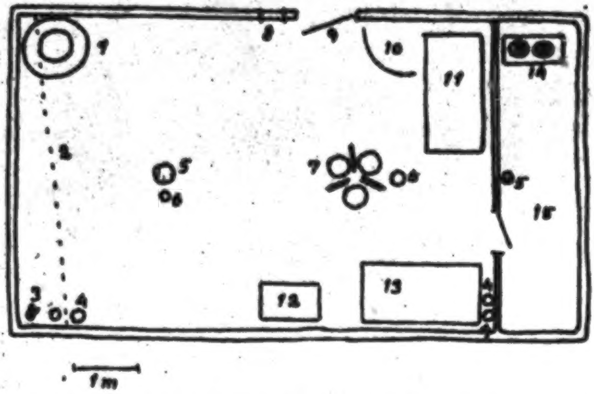

Idina's house. 1, basket; 2, clothes-line; 3, broom; 4, jars, in the back room on low shelf; 5, posts supporting roof; 6, small dimension bamboo poles, supports for the ceiling; 7, hearth with three round hearthstones; 8, shuttered opening through which the bolt may be reached; 9, door; 10, cassava for food; 11, spare bed; 12, table; 13, Idina's bed; 14, shelf for jars; 15, store-room behind mud wall with door.

[361] man and his two wives. The houses were grouped round a common courtyard,
the doors giving upon this space and not on the nearby village thoroughfare.

The three houses bore the names of Iselina's house, Idina's house, and Baba's
house. The elder wife, Iselina, had several minor children, who slept either near
352 her own bed or in the living area. She owned furnishings as modern as a chair
●177 and a cupboard with shelves, besides the usual objects in these houses, baskets,
bamboo mugs, hen's nest and roost, ladder and water jars. She also had an earthen-
[415 ware beer jar which, one day when I called on her, was standing on the fire,
273] nearly making the froth boil over. She was preparing beer for her husband's
friends, who had just dropped in.

352 The new wife, Idina, had a store-room in her house, and there was also a
[353 large heap of cassava, meant for food. As often seen in these houses, she had also
a guest bed. She had a number of jars and baskets, but no hen's nest. Straight
262] across the room she had suspended a line on which she put her clothes. Such an
[296] arrangement was often used, especially by the bachelors; they had a line for their
shirts. Clothes-hangers were not in use. You just threw your clothes across the
line. A wardrobe was never seen.

342 The interior of Baba's house presented a peculiar picture. It was divided into
three rooms, a living-area in the middle; at one side the bed-room, at the other
352 a store-room. The bed-room had only one bed and a wooden chest. There was
no hearth in the living-room—for the husband had his meals prepared by one of
his wives. But there was a true accumulation of tables, chairs, suitcases, and a

12: Bisgaard E-5 (1955) 1962 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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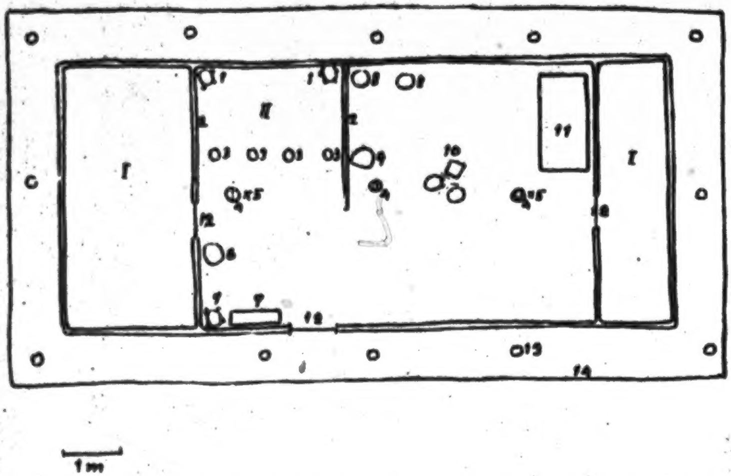

An *ikena* from the village of Kikota. I, store-rooms at either end of the house; II, corner for cattle.—1, hen's nest; 2, low partitions from bamboo; 3, posts for tying two head of cattle; 4, Three posts supporting roof; 5, here bamboo cups, calabashes, etc. were hanging on the posts; 6, wooden mortar for maize; 7, roost from bamboo tied together; 8, water jar; 9, basket; 10, hearth consisting of two round and one square hearthstone; 11, bed of the woman; 12, door; 13, supports for the roof; 14, eaves.—Outer doors from wooden boards; store-room doors from bamboo; bamboo ceiling covers area from half-way partition to the right of cow's corner on to store-room inner wall to the right.

[171] that such houses are found in Africa (a) south of the Zambezi, (b) in all of British Central Africa, (c) in all of East Africa including the Egyptian Sudan,—but not in localities where the Arab influence has introduced the oblong, rectangular building.

342 177 Now, if we look upon the eastern territories of Africa only—what great changes have taken place there since Johnston's day? The round house is being ousted under foreign influence—Arab as well as European.

If you ask a native of Africa, why he changes the plan of his house, his answer will be, that the rectangular house is easier to sub-divide and better in use—which is most probably true. When first the technique has been adopted, people in other parts of Africa will no doubt abandon the circular design and take up the rectangular.

171 342 But nevertheless, the variations in types of hut in Tanganyika are truly amazing; they range from e.g. the fine *ikenia* of the Banyakyusa,—to the rectangular *itembe* with nearly flat, clay roof of the Vakimbu,—to the round bee-hives of the Batutsi, which may be built in no time on a frame-work of branches and covered with

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The chief Wwamasika and his family after he had received from me my old "Klepper-Mantle" as a gift.

to enter his hut, where the patient was sitting on the ground with his back to the wall. To heal his patient of the pains, the doctor made some small incisions in his skin near the stomach by means of a triangular-shaped knife, and then he rubbed in the incisions a thick black juice taken from the horn of an antelope (the horn was called *kapembe*, pl. *ulupembe*). The juice was prepared from different roots and herbs as a medicine against stomach pains. In the horn were certain divisions for other medicines, and in each of these divisions was stuck a small (black) stick for removing the specific medicine from it. After this treatment the patient declared that he felt severe pains in the region of his stomach. I asked the doctor for some of his medicines, but he was unwilling to give me anything. Then I promised to bring him next day some European medicines hoping to get in exchange some of his medicaments. 123 757 [415 237]

The following morning I returned. On this occasion I did acquire some of his medicines in exchange for various European tablets, especially as he was most fascinated with the kaliumpermanganatum,[1] of which I gave him a few crystals, explaining to him the use and the dose; when I dissolved some of the crystals before his eyes, it probably seemed to him to be a mystical process. Among the medicines I received then from him was a medicine for luck, called *kwarusako*. Some of the inhabitants of the village, who had meantime appeared, were very unwilling for him to give me this medicine, and maintained that I would take with me all the luck of the village. [777]

On this second visit to the medicine-man, there was again a patient present, and I wanted to take a photograph of the scene because it was 123 755

[1] [i.e., KMNO$_4$. - Analyst]

begin later and continue till noon or beyond. The energetic ones some- 241
times hoe again for an hour or two in the late afternoon. Different crops are planted at different seasons of the year so that there is always some hoeing to be done." (G. Wilson, Introduction, p. 260).

The putting of maize-grains as seed into the earth is the women's [243
work, the sowing of millet *(malesi)* of both sexes. If you ask the men 462]
after they had come home from their work: *"Mukumbide ifivanya fya nongi?"*, "Whose fields did you hoe?", the answer often may be: *"Tukumbide ifivanya fya tata!"* We have hoed the fields of our father.

In former times, the Nyakyusa had a lot of ceremonies relating to the beginning of the hoeing season and of the beginning of the harvest- [177]
work. They are, however, nowadays nearly extinguished under the influence of European culture.

With respect to the beginning of the hoeing season, a very comprehen- 241
sive ceremony had to be carried out by the chief in community whith the 622
unganga (medicine man) for providing the fields with extraordinary [192]
(-sisya) power *(amaka): amaka amasisya,* in this case: fertility.

When the crop was ripe, it was (at first) forbidden *(mwiko)* to take anything from the crop before the chief had given the permission. First the oldest male villagers informed the chief that it may be now the just time to give the crop free for the people, saying: "The people is hungry, we will now give them to eat!" Then the chief ordered that 6 or 8 (maize') corn-cobs were brought to him, and he sent these corn- [782]
cobs by a messenger to the (holy) offering-grove where they must be put down. After that has been correctly executed, he gave the permission for reaping the new crop.

(NB. It was believed that those corn-cobs put into the offering-grove were eaten especially from the leopards. The powderes bones of the [237
leopards were considered important ingredients of the consecration 825]
drink which the chief had to take at his initiation ceremonies and which should give him the strength *(amaka)* of a leopard, so that he also was called "the leopard" or "the leopard chief".)

4. *Herding the Cattle and Cleansing the Stable.* The sociological 233
importance of cattle among the Nyakyusa and the specific practice among them of herding the cattle by herdboys, that is also of highly sociological importance for the structure of the Nyakyusa society, is already described by G. Wilson (Introduction, p. 269 f). 233

The cleansing of the stables of which the Nyakyusa possess a great 343
number of very well built ones, which have also sometimes 462
a considerable length — apart from the cattle kraals —, is the task of

usa. It is true that one still meets blacksmiths on the outskirts of the 178
villages or some distance away from them (as in the case of the Ndali 178
tribe, western to the Nyakyusa area), but they no longer smelt the 325
iron from ore mined by themselves as in former times. The smith of
to-day remelt only scrap iron from disused motor-cars and other
machines into tools, hatches, and spear-heads, unless, of course, the
natives prefer to buy imported iron-ware. As with the Chaga, also the 126
Nyakyusa smith can only be persuaded to submit to being photographed 326
after long negotiation and a change into better clothes. The blacksmiths
I met in the Bundali Mountains, however, made no objections whatever [184]
to being photographed at their work. Also women were allowed
to attend. But one feature of the ancient Nyakyusa blacksmith's 178
culture has been preserved till the present day: the lower part of the 325
bellows through which the air blast is driven into the fire is still made
of wood. This feature has been defined by H. Baumann as an element
of the "ancient nigritic culture".

12. Dress. The cloths of the Nyakyusa have changed to a very considerable 291
degree since the beginning of European influence. A 177
comparison of the earliest pictures and descriptions of inhabitants at
the northern end of Lake Nyasa with the dress of modern times brings
out this point most forcibly. Originally the Nyakyusa went almost
naked, adorned only with rings and belts, but nowadays all degrees of
compromise with European fashions of dress are to be found, especially
near the European settlements and Mission Stations. The most conservative
element are, in this case, the women. It is still possible to-day 287
to observe in each village the preparation of the long strips of bark 291
(elyabi, pl. *amabi)* commonly worn by the women. The so-called
impandapanda (Fotheringham: *mlambe)* tree furnishes the dress
material. After the bark has been immersed in water, the bast is beaten
with wooden instruments and then pulled off from the harder parts
of the bark. These tools are like hammers; the flat end of such an
implement is furrowed, sometimes with a disk made of horn, and as it
produces patters on the bast it is called *"obosimbe"*, that which produces
patters. These long belts, almost reaching the ground, especially
in front, are mostly ruby coloured, but the women sitting in front of [531]
their huts manufacture also other types with geometrical (triangular)
patterns in yellow and brown forming only girdles *(umpango).* In 291
addition to this minimum requirement in the way of dress some women 301
around the waist also wear copper belts *(manyeta)*, made of thin copperwire, [237]
spiraly wound on a core of hairs from the tails of cows. These

291 301 belts are also worn by men, nowadays below the other clothing. More
and more pieces of cotton with imprinted patterns have come into
291 vogue. They are worn around the lower part of the body or below the
●177 shoulders or fastened about one of them, and are bought from Indian
[439] shops. That this modern fashion, however, is something new in such
places which are a little remoter from direct European influence was
demonstrated to me when I came through a small village in the
environment of Masoko. There by chance I met some young girls
carrying a piece of cloth on the top of a long pole as if it were a banner.
On enquiry I was told that this "banner" was nothing other than a
[556 piece of cloth newly bought by a woman of that village and that it was
482] hoisted on a pole and carried in procession out of sheer joy that this
woman had been able to buy it.

291 Menfolk throughout are fuller dressed, especially when they go
dancing. The women, on the other hand, wear their ordinary dress also
on such occasions. The dancing costume of the men — only the younger
[292 men participate in dancing — consists of a sort of tight-jacket or
535] sweater and wide robes with coloured patterns. The hair is adorned
[302 with feathers. At work the men mostly wear only loin cloths or shorts.
237] After work especially the older man wrap their bodies in blankets. It
is very seldom nowadays to find even very old men still wearing the
former national dress: a bundle of long grass in front and a smaller
one behind tied to the waist by means of a string, as I found a man
on a solitary spot near Rungwe Station. Little boys go altogether naked
untill they are about three years of age. Little girls begin to wear a
small *amabi* at an earlier age.

531 *13. Art.* One of the most interesting and striking features in the artistic endowment of the Nyakyusa are the decorations on the outer-walls of their huts. The latter are only painted, however, when the exterior of the framework of bamboo is mud covered, otherwise only the wooden doors (*ikifigo*, door) of the huts are painted. By no means every hut or house is painted, but only a limited number in each village, probably depending on the presence and industry of an artist as this art is as in other cases an individualistic one. One such artist was introduced to me in a village near Rutenganio. The ornaments consist in most cases of geometrical patterns in white and black, seldom in other colours, or they represent different sorts of animals, e. g. elephants, horses, cattle, snakes, etc. The richest designs I found in a long extended village on the right bank of the upper Kiwira. In an other case the names of the animals were written in Swahili below

14: Lehmann E-5 (1939) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

the figures. Also bicycles, aeroplanes, motor-cars and other striking 531 objects of the European civilization are to be found represented and [177] concentric white circles adjacent to these drawings or paintings..

14. Houses. Sometimes the upper portion of the framework of the 342 rectangular houses is not fully plastered with mud leaving broad open areas or strips horizontally or slopingly to the base-line. This may have its origin in an artistic motive and at the same time be useful in ventilating the interior of the hut. The ancient custom of the Nyakyusa to fill out the spaces between the framework of the walls with flat, oval cakes or clods of clay, supported inside the house by a second framework of bamboo *(uvumango)*, has also a decorative effect.

The preparation of those oval sun-dried clay cakes is the work of the [339 women. L. Monteith Fotheringham described this in his "Adventures 462] in Nyasaland" (London 1891, p. 22) with the following words: "The women make the bricks in shape like large eggs by pressing the clay [113] between their hands." The building of the framework of the hut and the thatching of the roof is the task of the men. Nyumba means "the house" in Kinyakyusa as wellas in Swahili; *isyenga* is the name for the old-fashioned hut of the Nyakyusa possessing a round baseline and a framework expanding upwards in diameter. The rectangular hut is called *ikibaga* and the smaller rectangular hut used as a store or a fowl pen, *akabaga*. It is interesting to note that there is no special word for roof in Kinyakyusa. This part of the hut or house is simply called "the above" *(iyuru)*. In contrast to this fact the different poles of the roof-structure are specially named according to their position parallel to or at right angels to the ridge of the rectangular houses. *Ukutalike* means to bind the different rafters of the roof together; *imbanda* is the name for the supporting poles of the roof, and *inyengo* for the poles of the framework of the walls.

15. Outfit. Inside the house we find besides the bedsteads *(ikitara,* 352 pl. *ifitara)* and the household utensils, the grinding-mill *(uruwara)*, [412] consisting of an upper (smaller) and a lower (broader) stone. The flour falls into a basket placed in front of the mill. Sometimes in a corner [231] of the hut a nest *(ikitero)* for a sitting hen on top of a pole is to be found. Outside the house is a place for the sweepings *(urutagililo)*. The 356 cleaning of the interior of the houses and also the repairing of the mud 462 plaster is the task of the women, but I saw men cleaning the space in front of the huts. At any case, it must be acknowledged that the cleanliness of a Nyakyusa village leaves little to be desired.